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A Door Ajar to a Perception of the Silent Majority: Political Activities of the Russian Language Minority
in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area

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The political and social activities of the Russian language minority (RLM) in Finland or in the Helsinki metropolitan area (HMA) until now, has not been the subject of any academic study. Moreover, my experiences from this study show them to be somewhat a taboo. Through a constructivist "self-other dichotomy" related theory of identity and interest formation, this thesis investigates the political and consequently social activities of the RLM in the HMA. This study treats the notion of "minority" through an idea and process of construction from the "Anarchy" level and a grass-roots level of existence within a resident state. Moreover, the "Anarchy" level is highlighted by challenging Alexander Wendt's theory on state identities along the Westphalia lines. Equally, at a grass-roots level using the "self-other dichotomy" the political and consequently social activities of the RLM are explored as well as its existing ideology.

The methodology used in preparing this thesis is a three-fold approach based on qualitative research. Firstly, using open-ended semi-structured questions on a one to one basis with three expert professionals involved in the daily affairs of the RLM. Secondly, twenty-eight web-based, open-ended semi-structured interviews with members of the RLM. Finally, using Ideological Discourse Analysis (IDA), it draws upon a combination of Cognitive, Social and Discourse dimensions of the self-other "ideological square" as well as textual analysis. All the above mentioned compose a comprehensive picture of the self-other dichotomy related to the RLM.

The main outcome, in the identification of the political motivation of the RLM is the scale of five different discourses: "Glass Ceiling", "I say ¡No Pasarán!", "We are "Sui Generis", "Our Perception, to be continued" and "Isolation". Furthermore, as a product of construction process the RLM's delimitation lines appear as well as their downplay via the same process but a reversed vector. Finally, an anti-discriminatory or anti-xenophobic ideology resurfaces from the empirical data through the IDA-.

Keywords: Russian, language, minority, self-other dichotomy, Helsinki Metropolitan Area, constructivism, identity, transnational political space, political and social activities, Finland.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Concept of the Finnish Other

“Swedes we are no more, Russians we can never be, so let us be Finns”

Adolf Ivar Arvidsson, (Rinehart 2002, 427)

The concept of the self-other nexus determination and the self-other dichotomy within the Finland-Russia relationship is an unquestionable state of affairs for all Finns: or at least a wide majority. Russia is seen as the Other. Especially from the period of the Grand Duchy of Finland. Hence, for the purpose of this study as well as for all us non-Finnish and possibly less knowledgeable on the issue it may be, if nothing else, prudent to get a more concrete insight into the matter.

Historically, the perception of Russia as the Other did not always have a clearly defined dichotomy character. The reason behind this being accredited to the Finnish identity as a European nation (which came at a later stage). This identity constantly asserts itself through its membership of a number of organizations, the largest being the EU (Rinehart 2002, 30 cf. Moissio 2008, 79-81). In light of this statement, argues Max Jakobson, who describes his parents' love of St. Petersburg and held it in high esteem as a prominent “European” cultural city. The Bolshevik revolution introduced a clear cut and intensified self-other dichotomy. Therefore, as Jakobson reports: “The history that I was taught in school in the 1930's made me look upon the Russia Tsarists or Communists as the permanent enemy of Finland's freedom. This view was reinforced through the brutality of the Soviet during their invasion of 1939” (Jakobson 1998, 146). Russia as the Other to Finland is present at many levels of the self-other determination. One of these levels is “social consciousness” representations which are in line with Jakobson's narratives is Anssi Paasi's argument of Finnish population evolution of the Russian's image. Moreover, Paasi's arguments can be observed as an unstable variable in the Finnish perception of Russia as the Other. Thus, Paasi depicts a favourable image of the Russians in the early days of the Grand Duchy through Topeliuse's “Book of our land”. He additionally argues that part of the rationale for this image based on the anti-Swedish position at the time. The opposite perception relates, for example, to the Soviet Union as a “manifestation of all possible evil and an enemy” (Paasi 1996, 157-159).

The Finnish-Russian self-other dichotomy creates another important dimension, namely boundaries and spaces. Borders are not exclusively territorial and can include social conciseness as well as ideology. Thus, as Paasi Anssi elaborates, “territoriality and social consciousness are deeply contested categories-again sediment in diverging social practices (politics, the economy and administration)”. Thus, he

observes a factor of a “political” as the key generator of “constructed territorial identities and narrative accounts of us and them” (idem, 301). The territorial boundaries of Russian-Finnish self-other dichotomy were present from the Bolshevik revolution onwards. Furthermore, the Winter War territorially meant a defensive attitude for the Finns. Then the Continuation War revealed the plan of Great Finland as a step further, into Russia. Territorial advances of the Soviet Union as well as the advances of the “Greater Finland” plan, contributed to an intensified self-other dichotomy until the present day (idem, 106-107). In reference to ideological boundaries, Finland and Russia were equally positioned in the self-other dichotomy. The post-WWII period and the politics of neutrality were in a way, a counter-ideological stand towards the Soviet might and an overwhelming power of inclusion.

During his address to the Finnish National press club in Washington (17 October 1961) Urho Kekkonen the Finnish president at the time, highlighted several points. Moreover, he laid out the Finnish state of the nation upon completion of WWII. For a relatively small nation, aside from the war devastation and human loss – Finland had 400.000 more or less forcefully population resettled and around ten percent of territory taken. The war, economic devastation and post-war reparation commitments were an additional heavy burden placed on the Finnish political leadership in those challenging times (Kekkonen 1970, 87-88). Through the exposure of the Finnish position to the possible misinterpretation on the East and West, Kekkonen emphasized the difference between the acknowledgment of the Soviet Union security concerns in Finland and “friendship cooperation” on one side. On the other side, he clearly underpinned the difference between security cooperation or guided behaviour and ideological assimilation with the Soviet Union under the notion of neutrality (idem 1970, 89). Furthermore, in balancing between the East and the West, Kekkonen emphasized the factor of geographical location and likeliness to be “overrun” by a Soviet attack without an effective share in finally resolving the possible conflict with Finland. Finally, he observes a Finland that aims for development in domestic as well as international spheres: development of the democratic institutions in the former and focus of the Scandinavian cooperation in latter (idem 88 cf. idem 90). As a conclusion on ideological boundaries in the self-other nexus of the Finland-Russia relationship, Paasi Anssi offers a definition that appears as a common denominator of the Finnish-Russian dichotomy based on “... language is a medium through which discursive stories about us (and them) are produced and reproduced. But whereas language is a medium for the discourse of integration it is also medium for difference” (Paasi 1996, 91).

1.2. The Aim, Hypothesis and Research Questions

The aim of this research is to explore the existence of the political activities of the Russian language minority: confined as a case study to the Helsinki metropolitan area. Moreover, the study's focus is to investigate the connection between the self-other dichotomy and the Russian language minority. Thus, it is a qualitative investigation of a perception of the Other – via the self-other dichotomy – in a context of the political activities of the Russian language minority. Notions of language and minority related to a notion of an ethnic group. The definition of the ethnic group, among other, rests on a perception of a cultural and the other criteria. They may be “cultural values, communication, interaction and exhibiting particular traits of the culture” (Barth 1969, 12-15). In essence, a language minority stems from these criteria through “exhibiting” one of the cultural traits, the language.

The hypothesis of this thesis is following:

1. The perception of the Self and the Other is in use predominantly as a limitation factor of political activity. Due to the history of international relations (IR) tensions between Finland and Russia as well as to maintain an invisible political profile in Finland. The perception of the self and the other in the political activities of the Russian language minority in metropolitan area are perceived as a taboo subject. Consequently, it is rarely shared outside of the Russian-speaking minority group.
2. The Russian language minority is politically passive from political participation in the work of political parties, various associations and election process. The reason for such abstinence is a disconnection between representatives of the minority in the form of minority associations, their scope of activities and grassroots level political interest of the minority members. This leads to a feeling of underrepresentation and alienation.

In summary the aim of the research question is:

“How the Russian language minority uses the self-other dichotomy in a perception on its political involvement”?

Having formulated the main research question, one sub question appears and is formulated as:

“How does the self-other distinction relate to political activity or inactivity”?

Constructivism interprets realities via identities and places them in the limelight of constructivist understanding of the world(s) that surrounds us. Hence, in achieving the aim of this study, I will utilize Alexander Wendt's “typology of identities” (Wendt 1999, 198): “type, role and collective identity” (Wendt 1999, 224-232). Moreover, a spotlight is placed on “the role identity” (idem, 227) and thus through it primarily analyse perceptions towards the Finnish majority as the Other. I have used examples

of the aforementioned identities mainly proposed by Alexander Wendt and supported by minor contributions from other authors. Out of Wendt's contributions, I have focused on one of the most discussed constructivist books namely "Social Theory of International Politics" (Wendt, 1999). The following points and questions provide the course towards two of the research questions.

Firstly, by portraying several events, involving transnational agents and structures I will show that identities extend beyond state lines into transnational spaces. In such process of states and diaspora agency, territories convert into notion of space as a structure. Thus, in this way I argue against Wendt Westphalian identity resembling the concept of an undisputed entity border in IR (idem, 233 cf. idem, 202).

Secondly, I will use the definition of type identity as a base, in discussion observation of the Russian language minority's affiliation and differentiation of the Self and the Other: in minority discourse context. Therefore;

What is the key terminology used to differentiate the Self from the Other in relation to Russian minority's language and cultural differentiation in the type identity: two segments of many type identities that one may hold (idem, 225)?

Thirdly, I claim that role identities with their fundamental trait "of existence only towards the other" (idem, 227), may shed some light on impact of the majority to political contemplations of the Russian language minority. Moreover, a perception of "the self" as Russian language minority towards the other through "shared expectations" (ibid.). At the same time, I regard this point as crucial in defining both research questions. Hence, I think that the mentioned minority's image can extend into an explanation of its political activities and interest or lack of it. In other words, this point can be formulated as:

Through what semiotics and terminology, are the majority's expectations illustrated in the Russian language minority's representation of the self and political incentives?

Fourthly, under the characteristic of collective identity traits as a "blurred distinction between the self and the other" through the "cognitive process" (idem, 229) I will observe if traces of any collective political identity appear. The traits of the collective identity may offer more understanding of the possible evaporation of the divisive line and casted fusion of one identity with another. Clearly, in the context of this master's thesis, the collective identity is observed in a casting of the identity of the RLM and Finnish majority: into a hybrid or newly framed political identity. The Russian minority members' political

motivation in activity or passiveness towards the Finnish majority as the Other are further analysed in the light of this identity as reflection from the self-other distinction. This idea can be framed into the below concept:

"Within a communication of the Russian language minority's members, are there indications that would point out to the creation of a new hybrid cultural and/or political identity?"

Methodologically, all the afore-described objectives are processed through two types of qualitative interviews. The first are three semi-structured, qualitative, one-to-one interviews with expert professionals in various areas; dealing with the Russian language minority on daily base. The second are twenty-eight web-based, open-ended interviews with members of the RLM. Through named interviews. Interviews were analysed by IDA and Textual Analysis. The one-to-one interviews were analysed with Textual Analysis in order to understand the justifications given by experts on political activity or inactivity of the RLM. Equally, in focus was their rationale behind the self-other influence. These interviews are analysed and mutually compared as well as the web-based interviews. The web-based interviews are analysed in all defined Ideological Discourse Analysis (IDA) structures and the TA with a focus on the traits of the Wendt's "identity typology": mainly the "role identity". The aim of such analysis is to derive versatile qualitative analysis in order to reveal the political activities of the RLM. Equally, it is to investigate the use of the self-other dichotomy and understand its relation to political activity or inactivity.

Finally, although not a focus of this study, the social activities are not avoided. They may appear in the interviewees' responses data through language and other associations. Thus, as such they are an indicator of the overall social activities of the minority. Further, all given objectives will appear as a qualitative analysis value in an outcome. As such, they reify from analysed material in a scale of five reconstructed discourses.

Along with the specified objectives, I will use several other constructivist notions of the identity and interest connection. The incentive for such work is to enhance the research objectives in an attempt to consolidate complete picture of the minority. They are as such not objectives but rather a support tool to previously described to enhance them on a road to achieving the aim of the research questions. Namely they are:

1. Social identity related self-other positioning in intergroup relations, Presence or absence of political activity interest
2. Minority action endorsed by the Other, leading towards reproduction of intersubjective identity understanding
3. Reconstruction of the underlying ideology or anti-ideology in the discourse from collected data.

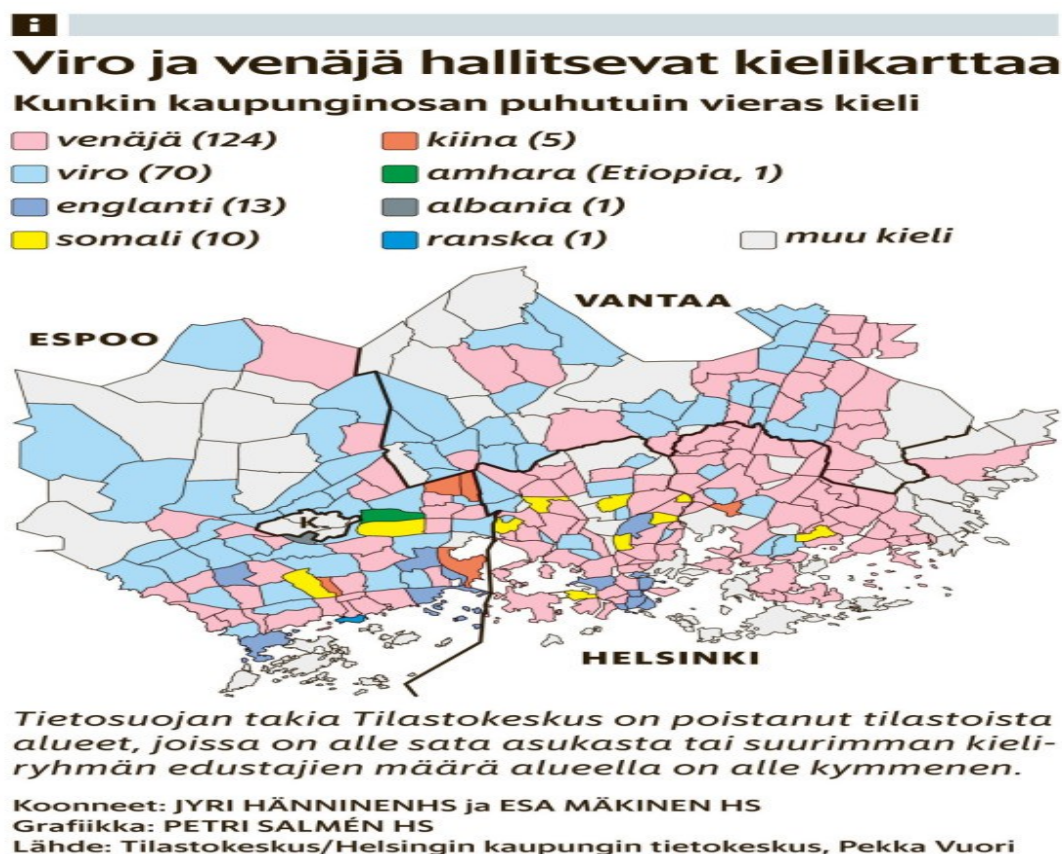
The benefit of this study is an insight and understanding of the political contemplations of the Russian language minority. Equally, the study establishes and opens a window to political activity or lack of it in the day-to-day life of the minority. Moreover, to my knowledge the absence of any recent such thematic based document increases the value of this research. Furthermore, as the metropolitan area is the most densely populated area in Finland – with the exception of Tampere – the presence of minorities is quite high (Statistics Finland VII). This increases importance to this study. Finally, the concentration of the Russian language minority of Finland is highest in the Helsinki metropolitan area as the chapter on the Russian minority will show. Thus, the value of the importance of this thesis in this sense is further increased.

1.3. The Historical Overview of the Russian Language Minority in Finland and the Helsinki Metropolitan Area

Currently in Finland, there are several officially recognized minorities: Sami people, Jews, Tatars, Roma and the Russian minority. Starting from the Russian-Swedish war of 1808-1809 onwards, the numbers of the Russian population in Finland have risen. As reported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Finland, the Russians have come to Finland in three ways. The first recordings of any significant presence of a Russian population in Finland was reported in the 18th century in region of the Karelia, due to the fact that Karelia became part of the Russian empire at that time. Hence, some of the members of the Russian population were relocated from the Karelian region to Finland (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2012). The second significant way in which Russians arrived in Finland was during the Finnish autonomy within the Russian empire; they arrived from 1908 to 1917. The majority of that particular group of Russians arriving in Finland were merchants, Orthodox Church clergy and public officials. Over time, this large number of the Russian population were assimilated into the Finnish and Swedish speaking population (ibid.). The third major group of settlers arrived escaping the October revolution of 1917. Finally, in addition to the aforementioned official three ways there is also a fourth group. Additionally to these three, the fourth group of immigrants started arriving in Finland with the dissolution of the Soviet Union (ibid.). Different statistics on the significant presence of the Russian language minority in Finland present the situation through few statistical insights. In 2012, there were around 70 899 persons with a Russian or Soviet background living in Finland. (Statistics Finland 2014 VI). Thus, in 2014 there were 66.379 persons in Finland have Russian language as their native language (Statistics Finland 2014 IV). In New Land region (Uusimaa Finn.), most populated region of Finland, there are 30,570 Russian native speakers in 2013 (Statistics Finland VIII 2014, according to Djogovic).

Naturally, the Russian language minority is not limited only to citizens of Russia. However, reliable statistics for native Russian speakers living in Finland was unavailable. Therefore, on basis of reliable data, the citizens of countries other than Russia were taken into account and used. As an illustrative example are ex-Soviet Republics and current day Baltic states Estonia and Lithuania. Hence, I received an insight into Russian citizen statistics in Finland as well as the Russian language speakers as a category unrelated to a particular state. Indeed, as reported by Statistics of Finland in 2013, Russian citizens are present in nearly fifteen percent (15%) or 30 757 of the population of foreign origin in Finland (Statistics Finland 2014 I). Almost half of the population with a Russian background in Finland have a “*Finno-Ugric*” background and equally almost half of the Russian background population in Finland have Finnish citizenship. Moreover, statistically, individuals of Russian origin are by far in the majority when

it comes to newly acquired Finnish citizenships. Although the percentage in 2013 is smaller than in previous year, the actual number of new citizenships is rising (YLE, 2013), (Statistics Finland 2014 II). It may be interesting to mention that the Russians “constitute the second largest language minority in Finland “: immediately after Swedish speaking Finns (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2012). In the metropolitan area – the number of Russian-speaking persons was reported to be 19 457 in 2008 (Statistics Finland 2008, IX.). Helsinki metropolitan area is composed out of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen (City of Helsinki 2014, 3). Looking at Finland per municipality, the concentration of foreigners is reported to be the highest in the Metropolitan area with an exception of Kauniainen; “Helsinki, 12.6 per cent, Vantaa, 12.3 per cent and Espoo, 11.4 per cent” (Statistics Finland 2013).



Graphics clarification

Source : Helsinki Sanomat 2014.

Graphics portrays most spoken foreign languages* in the metropolitan area of Helsinki. The highest positioned are (124) municipalities with Russian language as most spoken foreign language in the metropolitan area. Following are; (70) Estonian language predominant municipalities, English (13), Somalian (10), Chinese (5), Ethiopian, Albanian (1) and French (1).

*The other spoken foreign languages are fragmented and not represented precisely in this illustration.

1.4. Background of the Research Problem

A raised interest of contemporary politics in subjects related to diaspora and minorities provides a multidimensional view of current affairs in Finland: some of them are language and cultural affairs, social integration, human rights and other. Primarily, minority and diaspora related narratives almost automatically have involved the segment of the “homeland” or a kin state into interstate relations. Equally, the diaspora and minorities are part of the domestic political agenda for many states. Moreover, they have received increased attention as part of a continuous foreign policy agenda of a number of countries worldwide. Thus, the issue has increased emphasize in shaping mutual interstate relationships.

Referring to the interstate relationship of Russia and Finland, one of the first important points to note is their close proximity to one another. Furthermore, the mutual border sharing existence of Russia and Finland is historically a testimony to a live interaction between countries: both in times of cooperation and times of conflict. Notably, the period of the Grand Duchy of Finland under Russian imperial rule lasted for 108 years: 1809-1917. In that period, Russian influence on forming Finnish society has been rather significant. It is exactly in that period, when the Finnish language was officially accepted in to official recognition, which consequently led to its rightful place as the official language of Finnish state: through decree of Russian Emperor Alexander the I. Hence, one of the most notable books of that time is Elias Lönnrot’s *Kalevala*, Finnish folk poetry depicting Finnish myths themed from beginning of the time onwards (Jääskeläinen 2002). Finally, since the proclamation of Finnish national independence in 1917, or rather in contemporary relevant terms from WWII – marked by painful memories to the present day – the relationship between the former Soviet Union, modern days Russia and Finland is characterised through the idea of the Westphalian peace legacy from 1634.

The notions of borders and territories area a key part of one another, this time meta-notion in the international state relations: the principle known as the Westphalian states model. Thus, the Westphalian states model implies interstate relations and order based on sovereignty and territorial integrity, which further implies that each state exclusive domain in internal matters (Morgenthau 1985, 294). Furthermore, this model is in agreement with the theory of Alexander Wendt through which the states as units construct their identities along national lines (Wendt 1999, 9 cf. idem, 193-245). In between states, through a definition of their existence in a transnational space, the diaspora worldwide connect their homelands and countries of residence. Transnational space entails transnational political space as partly constructed category – as I will define it in more detail later – that involves a number of agents such as diaspora, with its fascinating political existence within. Thus, I will argue against exclusivity of

existence of the state identity along the Westphalian lines; diaspora's are carriers of this extension of identities. Furthermore, I argue that states are not the top level of identity formation in international relations. In the paraphrased words of Alexander Wendt's argument "States are people too", I would extend it to "Larger entities are people too", in reference to continents and beyond to supranational organizations: in light of Iver Neumann's self-other nexus (Wendt 1999, 215 cf. Neumann).

Diaspora as a transnational phenomenon stems from a process of migration from a home country to a country of new residence. Equally, the general process of migration is inseparable from the notion of a minority. Through migration, as a process involving migrants, the minorities become a part of the social mosaic in the new home societies. Furthermore, it defines diaspora as a transnational phenomenon and its existence in a transnational political space. Apart from the transnational segment of diaspora existence, the other key notions are "homeland, religion, collective identity, ethnicity, kin-nation and cross-border social phenomena" (Shain 2009, 8 cf. Faist 2010, 9 cf. Faist et al. 2013, 1 cf. Adamson 2012, 33 cf. Koinova 2010, 151). Regarding the migration and general history of the Russian language minority in Finland, it is not and has not been anonymous. Therefore, the cultural and economic significance of Russian language minorities in Finland have been clearly present and visible. It appears from monasteries and Orthodox churches, cultural associations to the employees of Finnish enterprises using Russian language in their day-to-day affairs (Serbian Orthodox Church s.a. cf. FARO s.a.). Furthermore, in the Helsinki metropolitan area, the Russian language-speaking group is the largest after the official languages speaking groups: Finnish and Swedish. Moreover, the Russian language minority has a constant tendency of growth in numbers. Some estimations forecast equalization with the Swedish language group by 2050; some others see it much before. Thus, as it is recorded, there was a 0.29 % of Russian language speakers in Finland at 1900 to land at 1.22 % in 2013 (Statistics Finland 2014, V cf. YLE 2013). Nevertheless, the metropolitan area of Helsinki is the main area in focus to the Russian language minority existence in Finland. In Helsinki, as in most of the countries of the world, the party posters have been advertising political parties and their candidates. Equally, on these political posters – as one aspect of political activity – it is very hard, if not impossible; to identify candidates from the Russian language minority or Russian language identity origin, based on their name or surname visible on the posters. Unlike, members of the other minority groups who appear to be present or at least of have greater visibility. The reasons that may contribute in the construction of such a situation are unknown.

Minority incentive topics as a fundament inevitably involve a segment of the self-other dichotomy and equally an identity creation. An identity creation may be presented in the national and international sphere as well as a role of the minority in it. Thus, such activity is a subject of mutual interaction and interpretations

of the interested parties or agents, again externally and internally of a state. Hence, a perception of the Self and the Other may be observed as a missing link in the relationship between minorities and majorities worldwide. Numerous scholarly contributions testify to it as a valuable guideline in the study life of minorities; the Russian language minority as a subject of this master's thesis.

1.5. Literature review

Many authors have dealt with a diaspora topic and indeed in various ways: from cultural, language to economic affairs and beyond. Among them, a number of scholars focus on the research of the political aspect of a diaspora's agency. Diasporas in the USA are elaborated upon broadly in a number of contributions. Notably, Yossi Shain for example, has studied a complex diaspora dimension in US politics and its influence on American foreign policy. He has been interested in extensions of a homeland collective identities as well as dual loyalties (Shain, 1999 cf. Faist 2010, 12). Along the same line is Maria Koinova's research, which has covered a range of diasporas in the USA. Moreover, she argues on a diaspora's contemporary agency role through "filtering international pressures for democratisation" and representation of home nation national politics agendas (Koinova 2010, 153). Furthermore, there is a range of authors who have covered the topic of diaspora in transnational political space. Equally, there are studies on the extension of the collective identity from a home country to diaspora. This supports my later argument against Wendt. For example, Fiona B. Adamson and Madeleine Demetriou reported on an extension of Cyprus's collective identity to their diaspora in the UK. Equally, Thomas Faist portrays the Turkish state identity extension to their diaspora in Germany (Adamson and Demetriou 2007 cf. Faist et al. 2013). The common threads of all the mentioned studies can be positioned within notions of an identity extension of the home state to the diaspora. Simultaneously, they present an evolution of a versatile sophisticated role of the diaspora in homeland representation. Thus, such conclusions are in agreement with my argument against Alexander Wendt's states identity claims.

Referring to a general aspect of the Russian diaspora existence worldwide, the majority of the studies focus on the Russian Jewish diaspora over various periods. Notably, Ludmila Isurin (Isurin 2011), conducted a general and one of the most geographically comprehensive study on the Russian Jewish and Russian ethnic diaspora. She reports on three major emigration waves from Russia: communist revolution, Russian prisoners of war in WWII and in 90's (idem, 6-7). Moreover, she has identified three major locations of Russian diaspora existence: Israel, Germany and the USA (idem, 19). Isurin's study focuses on the Russian diaspora acculturation process in the mentioned locations through issues of culture, language and identity. In conclusion, the study portrays a narrative on identity through several

factors. First, most of the Russian diaspora in the USA and Germany kept the Russian citizenship with an exception of Israel due to the conditioned process of immigration (idem, 172-173). Secondly, the use of the Russian language proved to be of high importance for all three diaspora locations. However, it had a tendency of declining with the younger generations. Equally, it was slightly more important for the ethnic Russians compared to the Russian Jewish origin diaspora (idem, 222). Finally, the resistance to the cultural norms of a new country of residence is present in a majority of the Russian diaspora and especially in Israel (idem, 223). All categories of study narratives at grass-roots level are evidence of identities that remain stable between the home country and the diaspora.

In an attempt to connect the worldwide transnational political existence of diaspora with the existence of the Russian diaspora in Finland, regional studies can be observed. Hence, the Baltic region and in particular the Estonian and Latvian examples have been most studied. Based on one of such study, notably Graham Smith's, my argument can be further strengthened: via a new stakeholder role in transnational political sphere. Hence, he reported on the issue of citizenship of the Russian minority in Estonia and Latvia and a connection between case specific agents in the transnational political space. Moreover, as such, this nexus extends beyond states and diaspora agency and involves the OSCE as an international institution and additional agent in the transnational political interaction (Smith, 1999).

Referring to the self-other dichotomy of the Russian language minority, there are again a number of papers discussing the others within the Other aspect of the dichotomy. Hence, the identified papers were related to the establishment of the of the so-called "Ingrian Finns" ethnicity through the immigration policies as well as biological discourse. Moreover, it narrows to a construction of their "Finnishness" as a catalyser of their remigration process from Russia to Finland (Davydova and Heikkinen, 2004). Equally, a topic of remigration of the "ethnic Finnish" population from Russia to Finland has been studied in several other papers (Varjonen et al. 2013), (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003), (Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind, 1999). Moreover, as focus on a perception of the self and other in the context of immigration is most evident in the studies conducted among the Russian adolescents in Finland (ibid.). Hence, the mentioned research showed that the ethnic identification of the Russian speaking immigrant adolescents identify themselves in different ways: "47. % as Ingrian Finns, 30. % as Russians and 16. % as Finns" (idem, 532). Equally, as Jasinskaja and Liebkind report, the ethnic identity identification directly relates to the time spent living in Finland: starting from strong Finnish identification in first year up to favouring the Russian identity in the third year of residence in Finland (idem, 535-537). Finally, this conclusion may be observed as confirmation of a collective identity in practice: in part of the Russian native language minority at grass-roots level.

Referring to a general context of the self and other dichotomy of the Russian minority in Finland, there are a couple of results from relevant studies that are interesting to point out. A number of researches conducted in the nineties portrayed a predominantly negative perception of the Russian immigrants in Finland by the Finnish majority (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2006, 296-297). Recent research (published in August 2014) observes the "ingroup" - "outgroup" relationship between the Finnish majority and the Russian immigrant population. Furthermore, the research investigates the nexus between the "perceived ethnic superiority" and multiculturalism. The results of which may be summarised in one sentence:

"Different ramifications of high ethnic identification and perceived superiority and speak for the destructive attitudinal effects of the later" (Mahönen et al., 2014).

The "Cultura Foundation", the Finnish government funded association initiated the "Active Citizenship" thematic project. As part of it they presented a number of gathered material on the Russian diaspora language and minority in Finland. The mentioned list dated from August 2014 and contained scholarly work and studies with various themes on Russian immigrants: mostly in the Finnish language. The majority of studies dealt with labour and a few were on language and culture identity topics (Cultura Foundation, 2014). Finally, the material again offered a versatile insight in to Russian minority life in various parts of Finland: in particular language identity. However, it has still kept me from the narrow field of my interest: self-other perception in political life of the Russian language minority.

As social construction of an identity and the self-other dichotomy is the focus of this thesis, constructivist theory is the framing theory through which this study is conducted. Moreover, Alexander Wendt's approach to identity definition as given in the "Social Theory of International Politics" (Wendt, 1999) as well as the "Anarchy is what state makes of it" (Wendt, 1992) are the guiding premises of the theoretical approach. Therefore, an identity as well as the interest formation through the interaction, further narrow down and shape this research. The self-other dichotomy clarifications will further contribute to achieving the study goals. In contradiction to the afore-presented, the scale of papers on the history of the everyday life of the Russian language minority in Finland is rather limited. Equally, the Russian diaspora as a transnational phenomenon in Finland is challenge to locate. Furthermore, the studies themed on political related contemplations or political-identity nexus as well as on general political related subjects of Russian language minority practically do not exist, at least to my knowledge. Papers on the general political life and contemplations of the Russian diaspora in Finland and Russian language minority are either missing or difficult to locate. Equally, politically related identity researches on the RLM in Finland, where language is used as unifier of their origin from post-Soviet Union countries, are completely absent from academic knowledge. The Helsinki metropolitan area is no exception in that sense.

As the Russian-speaking minority is perceived as one of the largest language minorities in Finland, any research of its life in general, may be a solid ground for numerous research subjects in the Finnish society (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2012). Through numerous contacts in the conduct of this study, interviews with three experts and twenty-eight members of the RLM, I have learned a lot. Hence, political and to an extent social perceptions of the RLM are treated as taboo subject by a number of individuals and shared seldom outside the minority circles. As such, an outsider's chances to collect empirical data are limited and in the light of the Ukraine crisis, it is almost an impossible mission. Through a study of the political self-other perceptions of the Russian language minority, I researched one of the most important political and social topics. My wish is to increase the scope of knowledge through the contribution of this master's thesis. In doing so, I hope to contribute to at least some improved understanding of the mutual perception between the majority and minority groups in Finnish society. The time frame for the master thesis is from August 2014 to November 2015.

1.6. Research limitations

This study is not designed to measure the "typical" voting participation percentage as a political activity among the Russian language minority: although some such data may appear from the interviews. Hence, this thesis will focus on the construction of interest through the self-other dichotomy in political activities as previously defined. Although the term politics will be defined in a respective part of the thesis, it is important to emphasize that I have accepted the wider definition, which advances beyond a "classical" perception of the politics illustrated in the work of the political parties and different officials in the government. I have chosen to include and extend this research towards a level and areas of the political sphere in various types of minority cultural groups and other associations in the metropolitan area. Moreover, data collection was extremely difficult, necessitating two attempts. Hence, the first attempt to collect them via Russian language minority's associations throughout the summer of 2014 completely failed both in data collection and communication feedback. It is only with help of Dr. Anni Kangas from the University of Tampere and especially Anneli Ojala from the Cultura Foundation that I managed to achieve any results. Furthermore, the data for analysis is collected from the one-to-one semi-structured interviews as well as the web-based interviews. The former with professionals involved in daily work with the minority community and latter with members of the Russian minority. Both types of interviews were conducted from mid-January to mid-February 2015. Equally, a limitation factor was the response from the Finnish political parties on their Russian language and cultural membership: in the metropolitan area of Helsinki. The only response – for which I feel gratitude on their courage – which I have received was from the Social Democratic Party. Having all this in mind, I see that this study holds additional

value in this sphere of study: in addition to others mentioned. Further related data details are closely elaborated upon in the methodological considerations.

1.7. Thesis Plan

The first part of the study gives basic parameters such as aim and thesis plan as well as the background of the research topic such as thesis aim, objectives and other. The second chapter of the thesis contains the theoretical underpinnings, which frame the self-other political perceptions of the Russian language minority. Hence, I will observe them through an identity and interest based constructivism – theory or an approach – as outlined by Nicholas Onuf, Ted Hopf and in particular Alexander Wendt. Through the application of the constructivist theory and the social construction identity creation – as endogenous to an interaction– I will inquire in to the perceptions of the self and the other in the political contemplations of the Russian language minority. In other words, constructivists argue that identities and interests are created in a process of interaction as a reflection and conversion of mostly ideas and partly material forces (Wendt 1999, 96). The defined constructivist claim is in a contradiction to the Rationalist and Neorealist stand as well as the Liberal theories who treat identity and interest as pre-given to interaction (Wendt 1992, 392-394). Hence, due to the versatile situations that individual existence involves, it also draws upon the existence of several identities; some mutually excluding while other stem from one to another. A further narrowed down point of departure in examining the self-other perception is the constructivist theory on construction of an identity and interest. As an adjunct and analysis compatible theory, I will elaborate on the Ideological Discourse Analysis by Teun A. Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1998).

The third chapter starts by establishing notions of a nation and politics and reveals diaspora as transnational phenomenon in International Relations, which as Fiona B. Adamson argues, “reify particular identities” (Adamson 2012, 31). Furthermore, as elaborated in the second chapter, Alexander Wendt’s constructivism offers identity and interest formation along national or state territories lines. While he argues that, through partly acknowledging the importance of the transnational stakeholders, Wendt tacitly denies their existence in identity ownership of states (Wendt 1999, 9 cf. idem, 193-245). Against such perception, I will argue in this chapter, that the identity formation extends into transnational political space “via media” through diaspora as a transnational agent. In order to illustrate my arguments I will portray a few examples of diaspora worldwide as agents in transnational space structures. Equally, the same example of transnational political activity as well as states identity extension will present an agency of the international institution in the mediation and advising role among principal agents.

Additionally, this chapter defines a broad and multiple applicable concept of the self-other dichotomy as well as a notion of minority and minorities' human rights. Moreover, the concept enables one of key notions to understand the study. It is the Russian language minority's relation to the self-other influence on possible "diversity of politics" and "political identifications" as well as social activities and identity perception that are observed (Adamson 2012, 31). Although unintentional at first, this study in the later part revealed and could not ignore a "lack of integration" as a factor that strongly resurfaced in this study (ibid.). Finally, the chapter applies the self-other dichotomy and identifies the Russian language minority as the perceived "other" by the Finnish majority.

Chapter four is an empirical chapter and it opens a methodological tool box. It starts by Wendt's "typology of identities" (Wendt 1999, 198) that I utilize as a part of constructivist "lenses" through which I conduct the study: type, role and collective identity (Wendt 1999, 224- 232). Although, I refer on all three of them – at some stage – the main emphasize is on a minority perception of the Self and the Other in political activities contemplations through "the role identity" (idem, 227). Furthermore, in this chapter are elaborated qualitative one-to-one interviews with three expert professionals that work on a daily basis with members of the Russian language minority. Equally, the twenty-eight web-based interviews with actual minority members are elaborated. This was perhaps the most difficult part of the study and almost a breaking point as the interviews were extremely hard to achieve due to the reluctance of the minority community to participate. As an illustration, I highlight the role of minority organizations – as well as other contacts in which out of all contacted organizations only one provided me with very limited data and assistance. Thus, these facts strengthen my experience of the topic as a taboo, which is not shared outside of the minority community. Furthermore, several other elaborations are noted such as the questionnaires design, ethnography notes and ethical and translation concerns.

The fifth chapter demystifies the topic of political passiveness of the RLM. Equally, it portrays the topic as a taboo, seen by the three interviewed experts and the minority. It contains a detailed breakdown on the collected data. Furthermore, in this chapter is the analysis of the data in light of the Ideological Discourse Analysis as well as supplemental utilized analysis through Fairclough's textual analysis (Fairclough 2003). Hence, the two types of qualitative interviews are compared and derived into the discourses scale. Moreover, the collected data load is separately analysed per interview category. Finally, the discussion investigates the findings and interplay of the two types of interviews.

Chapter six introduces the scale of five different discourses with the political perceptions or constructions of the RLM in the political context. The scale rests on the two opposite discourses marking the extremes for the other three discourses in the middle of the scale. First one the “Glass ceiling” and it contains perception of the Other in light of a number of perceived infringed minority different rights. The counter identity as an answer is increased organized political representation of the Russian-speaking minority. The other end of the scale is the “Isolation” discourse. It is characterized with an absence of strengthen position towards the Other and hence no counter identity. The Other is considered only as an identification without much of the characterization nor expectation. The visual idea of the discourses scale would look something like this:

Self	I	I	I	I	I	Other
Glass ceiling	I say “¡no pasarán!”	We are “Sui Generis”	Our perception, to be continued	Isolation		

Chapter seven is the conclusion of the study which reify the previous chapters into usable summary.

2. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical part will describe the most adequate theories assembled in order to frame the study topic. I have chosen constructivism, in particular the combined contributions of several authors out of which principally are Nicholas Onuf, Ted Hopf and in particularly Alexander Wendt. The rationale behind such a choice is social construction as a fundamental factor involved in an identity creation as well as the importance of identity construction in the self-other dichotomy. Furthermore, the role of language in a construction of a minority and political discourse endorses the constructivist approach.

The second theory that I have chosen is the theory of Ideological Discourse Analysis due to its strong connection with social constructivism and subsequently placed an accent on meaning and its understanding. Finally, Norman Fairclough's Textual Analysis presented a missing link in analysis realization and in completing of the analysis tool kit.

2.1. On Constructivism

"[...] the idea that International Relations is a social construction can be thought about in quite simple terms. To construct something is an act, which brings into being a subject or object that otherwise would not exist".

"[...] once constructed, each of these objects has a meaning and use within the context. They are social constructs in so far as their shape and form is imbued with social values, norms and assumptions rather than being the product of purely individual thought or meaning".

Karin Marie Fierke (Fierke 2010, 179)

Some consider constructivism as an approach and others as a theory through analyses of different segments of human existence. Hence, the IR is subject of constructivist interest. As Karin M. Fierke argues, the initial appearance and classification of constructivism rest between rationalist and poststructuralist perceptions. More closely, it was located in the "range of post positivistic perspectives" (Fierke. 2010, 183). As argued by a number of scholars, the sociological connections to constructivism derive from contributions of Emile Durkheim and Max Weber; the former focused on the structure agent influence and later on agent-structure nexus (Ruggie 1998 autumn, 856 cf. Van der Ree 2014). Moreover, as Kubáľková et al. clarify, the period prior to constructivism was characterised by divided scholar observations over the epistemological contests, known as "the third debate". A solution, capable to bridge the stark opposed differences, appeared through constructivism (Kubáľková et al. 1998, 13-14).

In order to define constructivism comprehensively, it is necessary to define the ontological and the epistemological foundations that rest upon. Hence, as Fierke proposes, ontologically, constructivism rests upon “intersubjective ontology; norms, social agents, structures and mutual constitution of identity”. Epistemology determinants are grounded on the positivist or naturalist perception which entails “hypothesis testing, causality and explanation” (Fierke 2010, 184 cf. Kubáľková et al. 1998, 15). Equally, Steffano Guzzini, emphasizes the social dimension of the epistemological and ontological traits of constructivism. Therefore, in defining the epistemological base he argues, “objects of knowledge are constructed”. Parallel to Fierke, Guzzini emphasizes social dimension of the social practices as well as the ontological redefinition of facts: via process of assigned meaning. Thus, he summarizes constructivism’s ontological and epistemological foundations: “construction of social reality” on the former and “social construction of knowledge” on the latter (Guzzini 2000, 160).

An action, as Fierke defines, which stems from an individual’s mind is in a focus of constructivists’ strivings to understand. Hence, she elaborates the constructivists have re-introduced the significance of the “social dimension”: in the limelight within it are the “intersubjective meanings”. As such, they derive an additional value to an understanding in the form of the “collective knowledge”. Therefore, internal individual beliefs go beyond of the sheer summarisation via “intersubjective meanings”. This is important for the framing notion of exchange individual beliefs. Consequently, it is bounded by the mutual base or agreement. (Fierke. 2010, 183). Similarly, to Fierke, Ted Hopf elaborates: “behaviour, or action, is only possible within an intersubjective social context”. Moreover, placing a norm as an incentive for an action of the self, he portrays a chain reaction on the norm-action nexus. Based on this nexus, as a direct reaction the Other establishes its identity (Hopf 1998, 173). Furthermore, Hopf speaks of constructivism that rest largely on identities. Hence, in terms of explaining those subjects that are currently on the margins of interest of the mainstream theories, he acknowledges the constructivism’s dedication towards an identity-based understanding (idem, 193). Finally, he defines that current challenges and topics in the constructivist approach in a list that reveals “relationship between state identity and interest, identity in world politics, the theorization of domestic politics and culture in IR theory” (idem, 172). Hopf’s, elaboration on the concept of “the actions that will cause the Other to recognize that identity” has some applicability to this study and the Russian language minority, in the context of a political-legal framework (idem 173). In the context of this study, the incentive and action mirrors through the analysis of laid legislation norms. As such, they represent majority incentives by making the political activities possible for the RLM: in the form of Hopf’s action. This resembles Guzzini’s idea of applicability in the observation of a connection between constructively interpreted and

established actions (Guzzini 2000, 160-161). Moreover, methodologically, such actions stem from analysed data from web-based interviews. Furthermore, it may lead to an increased intersubjective majority-minority understanding of the political identity of the Russian language minority as a group or part of the group and its reproduction. Thus, it also may possibly lead towards a further specified opting towards a particular type of political activities or ideology by the minority members.

The previously defined “the third debate” occurred in the 80’s of the last century (Kubáľková et al. 1998, 13). Therefore in the IR context, a number of scholars refer to constructivism to have had asserted its importance and justification in that period. Moreover, they observe that constructivism has firmly positioned itself against the mainstream theories in the period of the end of the Cold War (Guzzini 2000, 149, 151). Alexander Wendt clarifies rationale on constructivism’s capitalization on the shortcomings in an explanation of the materialist and individualist based theories. (Wendt 1999, 4). The first author that used and coined the term constructivism is considered by many to be Nicholas Onuf. In his analysis in the “World of Our Making”, he refers to the term “constructivism” in an effort to explain it through a focus on the development of the socially constructed nature of intersubjective relations (Onuf 1989, 35-65). Furthermore, he emphasizes the versatility of constructivism as “a way” of scientific observation spheres of life or “all fields of social inquiry” (Onuf 1998, 58). Thus, through a number of contributions, Onuf has elaborated on constructivism in IR but has also shown that it is applicable to “any kind” of social structure or sphere of life. Wendt as will be elaborated more closely later equally supports the later claim (Wendt 1999, 193).

Nicholas Onuf’s approach to constructivism appears in a number of claims. Hence, in reference to the initial phase of the constructivism defining process, he characterizes it in its capacity beyond that of social interaction. It is beyond communication between subjects, beyond just spoken language. Moreover, the beginning rests upon versatile undertaken actions to which he also refers as “deeds” (Onuf 1989, 36). Furthermore, this claim Onuf develops further away from “deeds” base into “bounded” instead of “grounded” constructivism; the agent-structure problem is resolved in interplay of mutual construction (idem, 46). Equally, he does not favour or create “a sharp distinction between material and social realities”. Instead, he argues for an interplay of them and that neither of them can exclude completely the other from a construction of reality (idem, 40). Wendt would later claim the similar construction of the IR’s structure: “the Anarchy”. Considering Onuf’s pioneer constructivism as a distinctive process, which can summarise in core determinants, several points may be considered.

Moreover, in regard to the approach in this study, I find them all compatible in larger or smaller scale and they are:

1. Interplay in construction of agents and structures or between “people and societies” (Onuf 1989, 36, 40). Sociality and socialization are a key element of constructivist agenda (Onuf 1998, 59).
2. Constructivism avoids clear opting for either material or social in sense of one’s domination. Their importance is equally recognized and their interplay is in a limelight (idem, 40).
3. Existence of an identity inflicts interest in its reproduction: individually and collective (Onuf 1998, 64).
4. The emphasis of a strong connection between language and perceived reality of “plural worlds” out there. Therefore, Onuf proposes “constructivism” as a lens to observe “world and words” to exist as “mutually constitutive” (Onuf 1989, 94). Result is reality that is not known indisputably and may mirror in related underpinned claims: “We construct the worlds we know in a world we do not” or “The world is what we take it to be” (idem, 37, 38).

In other words, the perceived reality is no more than a construct. This idea permeates all notions and its application is integrated part of a minority notion as such. Such claim is one of the guiding ideas of this study and an important part of the overall framework in constructivism as perceived theory by one or an approach by others. In addition, Nicholas Onuf’s interpretation of constructivism appears in contributions of a number of scholars (Debrix 2003, ix). Moreover, he was among first to bring to the forefront the importance of language in the action-language nexus. Furthermore, that link connects to language interpretation and understanding through related tools, which again can be seen as directly linked and further developed in the theory of Discourse Analysis (DA). This study’s applicable type of DA is identified in form of the Ideological Discourse Analysis.

Constructivism differs in its forms and as such there are several perceived divisions. According to Kurt Burch – quoting John Ruggie – he distinguishes three types of constructivism. The first one is “neoclassical “with a focus on “intersubjective meanings”. Constructivism in this study’s focus belongs to this category. The second one is “postmodern” constructivism based on what can be seen as the linguistic decoding of the analysed topics; the Ideological Discourse Analysis, defined later is part of this orientation. Finally, Burch describes a third category of “naturalist” among which he enlists Wendt. In his view, the naturalists are focusing on “unobservable phenomena” such as “Anarchy” (Burch 2002, 64-65). Hence, as my focus is on identities, interests and intersubjective meanings - I will borrow the constructivism related content from Wendt contributions; including the defined “typology of identities” (Wendt 1999, 198 cf. idem, 224) as well as interests (idem, 231). Ted Hopf portrays a similar, yet slightly

different and broader defined division between conventional and critical pillars of constructivism. Prior to depicting what differentiates one from other, it is important to point out that they share common corner stones on several perception points:

1. “Denaturalize the social world: to empirically discover and reveal how the institutions and practices and identities [...] are in fact product of social construction”
2. "Importance of an “intersubjective reality and meanings are critical data for understanding the social world”
3. “All data must be contextualized, that is, it must be related to, and situated within the social environment in which they were gathered in order to understand their meaning”
4. “Nexus between power and knowledge” as well as an interplay between self and society” and “actor and the structure” (Hopf 1998, 182).

Contrary to a common ground, Hopf defines the differences in several characteristics, which characterize the two types of constructivism. Hence, conventional constructivism focuses on the observation of the causal connection between the identities and social practices. Moreover, as Hopf highlights a cause and surrounding for an action: the traits of particular identities in former and the nexus between such identities and actions in later. The rationale on the identity position from the conventional constructivist is one of the strongest differences between the two types. The differentiation line between the two – on the part of conventional– rests on identity genesis. Hence, conventionalists perceive an identity as a need within a development flow “or offer no account at all” (idem, 183-184). Hopf summarizes conventional constructivism in a process of “uncovering of the differences, identities and multiple understandings” determines the frame in which “one can expect to see one identity or another”. Lastly, there is a clear line between the observation subjects and observers as well as a clear rejection of the interference seen in critical constructivism through “reproduction, constitution and fixing”; conventionalists focus on understanding of the intersubjective meanings (ibid.). Therefore, if the core of conventional constructivism had to be placed in one sentence it may be argued that all of its particularities stem out of the Self-Other nexus. Alexander Wendt is considered one of the authors of the conventional or mainstream or constructivism (Van der Reed, 2014). The foundation and identity based frame of this study is largely guided by the conventional constructivism. Equally, Hopf identifies the particularities of critical constructivism in several traits. Critical constructivism as several other theories and approaches is associated with the power relations and critical social theory. Therefore, critical constructivists utilize identities as a part of a larger framework in which they aspire to prove the basic pillars of their observation point: as Hopf defines “single version of naturalizes truth”. Moreover,

identities as such are considered and perhaps magnified in the absence of their foundation: present in conventional constructivism. Contrary to conventionalists, critical conventionalist observe identities on a side-track of development and thus utilize rationale based on untypical origins or identity “deviation”. Moreover, as Hopf advises the dividing line between the observed and observer is not as strong as in conventional constructivism. Hence, an observation and an action through “interest in change” interplay; rather an unthinkable possibility with conventionalists. (Hopf 1998, 183-184). Nicholas Onuf is considered as an author, who belong to critical constructivism or continental pillar of it (Van der Reed, 2014).

In light of an interpretative sense of critical theory methods, my second chosen theory, Ideological Discourse Analysis (IDA) – as a type of Critical Discourse Analysis– may be characterized as one of the methods used by critical constructivism. Despite this, I will make use of the IDA’s analysis tools in the course of my analysis of the “typology of identities” by Alexander Wendt (Wendt 1999, 243). Furthermore, through this analysis tool my goal is to enhance the conventional constructivism principles in the observation of identities. Power relations as such are not avoided, yet not prioritized and are observed with regard to self-other “assimilation” as defined by Hopf in critical constructivism (Hopf 1998, 183-184). In overall conclusion of the chapter and afore mentioned division of both constructivism characteristics it may be said they offer a solid base for further insight on the identity in the self-other dichotomy formula. As such, the, later description of Wendt’s “typology of identities” (Wendt 1999, 224) closer determine a core of identity construction.

2.2. Wendt’s Constructivism

As earlier defined, Alexander Wendt is one of the most significant authors in contemporary constructivist discussions. He defines the common point and basic traits of constructivism, which are in agreement with Onuf’s contemplations and they summarize as:

- 1) “The structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces”
- 2) “Identities and interests of the purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature” (Wendt 1999, 1).

Wendt bases his constructivism on “the structuration and symbolic interaction sociology”. Furthermore, he recognizes materialists and idealists views by acknowledging their rationale to a certain degree. Moreover, Wendt develops his own category of constructivism which is not necessarily complementary to some other constructivist approaches and it evolves in “a scientific approach to the social inquiry” (idem, 1). In other words, Wendt positions his views as a challenge to several mainstream or classical

theories. As such, he does not disqualify the significance of the material segment utilized by both "materialists" and "positivists". Its undisputed and easily observed importance in encompassing the ontology of the IR: "rock and trees" or "aircrafts and tanks" (idem, 39) is clearly visible. In his argument against several main theories, his stance against rationalists' interpretation of IR may be relevant for this study. Hence, rationalist claim that structure regulates behaviour which fosters the idea that identities pre-exist or are a fixed category (idem 193 cf. idem, 28). Conversely, he claims that identities and interest are in fact constructed by (social, my addition) structures. Finally, he highlights humans to be "the intentional actors" in direct dependence to "shared ideas" (idem, 193).

Through clarification of constructivism's ontology, Wendt highlights the social importance of human associations. Hence, he positioned his claim in contrast to the materialist view – embodied through realist and liberal theories – that promote almost solely a material base as well as institutions as a driving force of relations of the international structure. (idem 1999, 5). In other words, Wendt argues that the social segment of the Anarchy – international system – is determined by ideas as a connecting factor of state interaction. Furthermore, he argues that the notion of constructivism stems from a state identity that emerges from these understandings (idem, 372). Therefore, Wendt's social constructivism is "state centric"; hence, states are undisputedly the main agents. Hence, Wendt emphasizes the key positions of states in the "global regulation of violence" as well as the claim that "states are still centre of international system". Finally, Wendt admits the importance of the transnational actors – without disruption of the states key position. Nevertheless, in no context, he does not see their role in state identity construction (idem, 9). Transnational actors have an important place in the theoretical foundations of this study, whereby I find that the identity created incentive wave does not stop on the borders of states; it extends over into transnational space and onto some transnational agents. Consequently, I therefore contest Wendt's argument that states and their agency exclusivity as actors in an identity creation along their borders. Moreover, as I will explain later, the agency extends towards transnational agents; in this case study it is the Russian diaspora. In other words, I argue that Westphalian state system extends into transnational space in identity formation through the existence of minorities and diaspora. Equally, the argument reifies within examples of various diaspora worldwide. Referring to the Russian diaspora, the examples of the Bronze statue incident in Estonia and child foster case in Finland support the claim (Даниэль, 2007 cf. Вопросы 2012 cf. Yle Uutiset, 2012).

In further narrowing of the theoretical multi-level direction of this study, the focus rests on Wendt's social constructivist notion of the identity types: in "the Anarchy". Hence, Wendt refuse the pre-defined

“logic of the Anarchy” (Wendt 1999, 21 cf. Wendt 1992, 394-395). Moreover, in course of it, he argues for centrality of interaction practices that bring out the identities and interests and consequentially the claim that “Anarchy is what states makes of it” or international system represents what state(s) perceives it to be (ibid.). In other words, states interpretation of “the Anarchy” is an interpretation of shared ideas that represent the culture and social structures within “the Anarchy”: having fundamental influence on the identity and interest formation, as I will explain later (Wendt 1999, 309). I will use Wendt’s constructivist formulation (idem, 332) and bridge it towards the idea that “Society is what people make of it”; applied to the case study of the Russian language minority in Helsinki metropolitan area. In line with this narrowing of the theoretical frame may be observed Nicholas Onuf’s argument on versatile applicability of constructivism (Onuf 1998, 58). Therefore, the character of a diaspora as an actor in transnational political space reified in the Russian language minority supports my overall constructivist frame. Finally, the role and existence of diaspora in transnational political space is in detail explained in the diaspora section.

Shared ideas define interests and identities in constructivist view, creating character specific cultures. Moreover, cultures are defined by “different kind or roles that states represent Self and Other” (Wendt 1999, 43). In parallel with the Onuf’s source claim that constructivism starts with “deeds”, may be connected Wendt’s example of “symbolic interactionist notion” of “Alter and Ego”. Moreover, their decisions draw upon an intersubjective meaning of the other’s actions that were consequential to their prior thoughts. This creates certain symbolic interactionist formula for the self-interest and emergence of identity types. Hence, it is in the light of the “mirror theory of identity formation” of the Other during the period of time (Wendt 1992, 421 cf. idem, 406). The final departing point of this thesis is an examination of the self-other perception is the constructivist theory on identity construction as endogenous or internally created within the interaction of the agents in the social structure. Furthermore, the three types of identities – “type identity, role identity and collective identity” (Wendt 1999, 224-233) are in focus of a constructivist view that invigorates this study.

2.3. Constructivism based on Identity and Interest

“Identities are ... prescriptive representations of political actors themselves and of their relationships to each other.”

(Kowert and Legro 1996, 453).

Identity is a term often in use within daily life, expert elaborations and just about any context of discourse that could be imagined. “My identity is... It not /is part of my identity to.... and it goes on.

In an attempt to delimit identity elements as well as identity logic, Avtar Brah directs her work on “an affinity based functional identity differences in the historical and cultural frame”. Hence, as one of the leading scholars on identity, she bases her work on the self and other, of intergroup relationship in the wider context of difference (Alexander 2007, 123-124 cf. Brah 1996, 115-127). She offers a view, that identity is the self-other perception of “I” and “me”, “you” and “them” concomitant to an understanding of the reality of the given moment. Thus, her observation may be construed to be in agreement with Nicholas Onuf’s and other constructivists’ construction of the unknown. Furthermore, she defines identities through the segment of “experiences culturally constructed in social relations” (idem, 123). Hence, the individual perception entails the segment of dual processes: “a social and psychological” (idem, 20). Thus, in an attempt to position an identity into some type of definition she discusses the problem of changing subjectivity in the identity equation: subjectivity, coherence, stability and core. Finally, Brah describes a loose understanding of the essentialness that narrows into the understanding that also may be formulated as “the I” (idem, 123-124).

Hogg and Abrams offer a concept of an identity as “people’s concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others” (Hogg and Abrams 1988, 2). Identities may be a subject to alternation in dependence to a situation and or demand. An individual changes its identity daily in situations it encounters. Consequently, an individual possesses a number of identities pertaining to a situation. Equally, Rogers Brubaker clarifies on identity and self-other perception through identification as “fundamentally situational and contextual” (Brubaker 2004, 41). Furthermore, Brubaker offers a division on strong and soft – weak – understandings of identity. Therefore, a strong understanding is described as “sameness over time or persons”. Conversely, a weak understanding according to him appears as “multiple, unstable in flux” (Brubaker 2004, 37-38). Regardless of a situation, the relationship between the self and the other is a segment of an identity definition that is particularly important to and used by constructivists. Therefore, perhaps a couple of words on the self and the other from a different view point, of social psychology.

The first scholar that defined the term of the Self through “I” and “Me” was William James in “Principles of Psychology” in 1890 (De Champs 1982, 85). Hence, he delimited the frame and developed the notion of an identity. This was followed by many other such as one of founding fathers of social psychology, George H. Mead who offers a closer understanding. Hence, the Self is understood to represent properties of an individual that should not be understood or reduced to simple physical existence; it involves “the self-development” (Mead, 1977, 199). According to Mead, the establishment of the self involves a “process of social experience and action”. Furthermore, he argues that the self-relation to the aforementioned process “as a whole and to other individuals in that process”. Thus, he argues that a lower forms of animal existence – as lower intelligence forms– do not hold a segment of the self in their being (Mead, 1965, 199). In the establishment of an individual’s self, Mead distinguishes two phases:

- 1) “An organization of the particular attitudes of other individuals towards himself”
- 2) “The full development of an individual Self, that Self is constituted not only by an organization of these particular attitudes, but also by an organization of the social attitudes of the generalized other” (Mead 1965, 222).

As a conclusion to Mead’s contemplations on the self, it can be noted his understanding of the other as an unavoidable factor in constructing the self. Hence, a perception of the other is crucial as part of the construction of the self-image. In other words, Mead insist that distinction between “I” and “Me” is best to acknowledged through memory and time notion. Moreover, when an individual discusses itself they are deprived of vision of the self or the “I” and an image of the self is always present in the “me”. Mead portrays the difference drawing upon a time related example. Therefore, in a time scale the “I” is short-term representation of the self. The “Me” is clear conscious category in a memory aspect of the self within the time; it goes beyond and longer in time that “I” (Mead 1967, 174). Further, as Mead defines in this time related consciousness, the “I is a response of the attitudes of the others”. On the other hand, the “me” is created when the attitudes of the others are accepted and hence casted into “me”. Therefore the moment of accepting “organized attitudes of these other” brings the full self- consciousness and the “me” that is part of that self-consciousness (idem, 175). Finally, “I “and the “me” can equally be observed as that former should be regarded as subject while later is regarded as an object of the Self (De Champs 1982, 85).

In order to magnify the understanding of the distinction between the “I” and the “Me” Mead portrays a situation when the individual responds to a request by team members to throw a ball. Hence, this is the moment where the image of self receives an additional value of the other’s views and they are incorporated to the image of the self (Mead 1967, 175-176). The embraced attitudes of the others is the

point that is important definition of the self-other dichotomy based identities by Wendt; in particular the role identity. In the scope of society, intergroup relationship is a definition of the social identity. One of the most cited definitions is Henry Tajfel's as "the part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership to a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1982, 2). In other words, the social identity is regarded as personal perception and experience of belonging to a social group(s) as well as the feelings and importance that an individual places to such personal positioning. This definition applies to this study as it may be used in the analysis of the intergroup or majority-minority relations. Hence, self-other context is unavoidable. The logical question arises on the purposiveness of identities. As Hopf interprets, in an unstable world or relations, identities appear as a stabilization factor in defining the agents positions in a social structure. Equally, he clarifies their multi space applicability and purpose that goes beyond "domestic society". Hence, he refers to their role as to insure "minimal level of predictability and order". Lastly, extending Hopf's formulation on identity purposiveness to the self-other dichotomy is sums to the three explanatory points:

- a) Understanding of the Self about who it is,
- b) Understanding of to the Other about who it is,
- c) Understanding to the Self of who the others are (Hopf 1998, 174-175).

In this study, in the frame of the research questions, the additional value is to derive all three understandings from members of the Russian language minority. Moreover, understandings resurface from the collected data and discussions with representatives of the Russian minority associations. As such, they are an important link to the answer to the research questions. Nevertheless, theories on identity are numerous as well as the theories on the multiple identities. Moreover, they are established on versatile epistemological and ontological foundations. I will give a description only for one of them, which may be observed as pertaining to the topic of this study: in light of a construction of a notions of a nation and the ethnic and language identity.

The primordial view on an identity is based on the "givens" that derive from historical traditions that have influence on the ethnic groups. Geertz offers a view on identity, which is invested in the foundations on the natural ties defined as "primordial attachments", or "elements that are considered as given within the context of the "social existence". Furthermore, primordial connection refers to the inter-individual connection and family or "kin" circle perceived closeness and beyond "practical necessity and common interest". Hence, it is seen "ipso facto" as "great unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself". Finally, Geerts offers a scale of the primordial connections that identifies as an existence of

connections in religion and family environment on one side via “language and dialect” through end in “particular social practices”. (Geertz 1963, 109). In other words, as both Geertz and Deng argue, the primordial definition of the identity is extended on being “born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices”. Summarized they can be also named the link of, “blood, speech and culture”. (ibid. cf. Deng 1995, 1). The primordial view on an identity through the construction of notions of an ethnic group and a nation, it is not sufficient. Thus, conventional constructivism appears to be needed as a missing link in social construction and in particular in construction of the Other (Hopf 1998, 193). Beside an identity, an interest is also in the focus of constructivist analysis. Along with identities, constructivists observe an interest as a product of social practices. Hence, in the case of absence of interest, as Ted Hopf argues, constructivism investigates the reasons for its absence. The explanation stems from an argument that an interplay of an identity and interest reflect equally in social structures as well as practices. Therefore, the interest subscribes or is consistent with the same social practice and structure as an identity (Hopf 1998, 176). Relating to afore presented factors in the formation of interest, their use in this study supports analysis on the possible existence or lack of political interest with the Russian language minority.

Alexander Wendt offers his view on identity and interest.

“Identity is a base or unit level quality, rooted in actor’s the Self-understandings. However, the meaning of those understandings will often depend on whether other actors represent an actor in the same way” (Wendt 1999, 224).

“Interests refer to what actors want”; “They designate motivations that help explain behaviour” (idem, 231).

Wendt acknowledges the basic premises of a constructivists standpoint view on identity genesis: internally and as relationally created. Therefore, as Onuf would argue, internally is the self-understanding and relational as in the social relation to the Other (Onuf 2003, 26-49). Equally, as Wendt convinces, it depends on ideas related to the self-perception and “to that extent that the other actors represent an actor in the same way, and to that extent the identity will also have an intersubjective or systemic quality” (Wendt 1999, 224). Thus, constructivists hold perception of cognitive and intersubjective relations in which the identities and interests are internal to an interaction. It is opposed to their existence outside of the intersubjective relations or as fixed (Wendt 1992, 394 cf. Wendt 1999, 316). Alexander Wendt places states as agents in the limelight of the agent-structure problematization (idem, 9 cf. idem, 194). Furthermore, as such identities and interests are states’ properties in the IR structure (idem, 143). Moreover, he observes identities created on a systemic level in light of the agents shared knowledge, which immanently involve perception of the self-other dichotomy (ibid. cf. idem, 193 cf. idem, 224-225). Finally, I would conclude that Wendt observe an identity formation along the

states' borders as entities or units in the state system. This leaves – at least not mentioned by him – no space for identity extension towards other stakeholders in the IR. As defined in identity chapter, identities are multiple and an individual may have a number of identities, pertaining to various situations (Wendt 1992, 397-398). The fragments of such number are observed by Wendt's identity typology in which this study draws upon three with the regard to the self-other dichotomy. They are type, role and collective identity.

Rationalists and as Wendt depicts, a significant number of the “philosophical literature” treats “interest” and “identities” as separate factors in understanding action and hence the “equation” offers: “desire + belief = action”. Contrasting rationalist's claim he argues – within the frame of the same formula– that: “desire (Interest) + belief (identity) = action”. Nicholas Onuf perceived “deeds” or “actions”, as the start of constructivism and are the base for constructivism analysis. Behind them, there are two constitutive factors through which interplay and actions stem namely “identities” and “interests” (idem, 115 cf. idem, 231). Thus, Wendt argues that interests are based on identities and there is an interplay between them in the consequent action as an outcome; interest supply a “motivation force” while identities give a “direction” (ibid.). Furthermore, in forming an interest, both material factors and ideas are contributing elements. Moreover, “human nature” representing the material forces is only a minor part of interest constitution (idem, 130-131). The majority of interest constitutions as Wendt argues are “shared ideas” with a cognitive base (idem, 125). Additionally, as Wendt argues that these ideas are “constituted by shared cultures or cultures”. I would propose that they are based on the perception of the Self and the Other whereby these ideas turn into cultures (idem, 115). Therefore, as Wendt argues, an identity and interest, as well as state perceptions, fundamentally originate from the shared knowledge or the “cultural formations” (idem, 104 cf. Wendt 1992, 394). Finally, he portrays, the cultural formations may be cast into any category based on the philosophies of Hobs, Locke, Kant. It unfolds in particular way that determine the nature of such a structure, enemy, rival and friend together with their further respective particularities (Wendt 1999, 257). In other words, the interplay of an identity and interest is based on the notion that identity is what is perceived of one's self or who one is, thus an interest stems based on that perception, in the “process of defining the situations”, and it is “rooted” in the identity ” (Wendt, 1992, 398 cf. Wendt 1999, 233). Finally, as Wendt argues, “interests presuppose identities” and identities serve as a foundation from which interests fundamentally stems they are not “portfolio” used as baggage by the social actors in the independent manner (Wendt, 1992, 398).

2.4. Theory of Discourse Analysis

As defined, among its other traits, constructivism strives for a deeper understanding of phenomena by highlighting a world(s) reality as a subject of social construction (Onuf 1989, 38). Socially, a language and words are part of a discourse and as such are used to construct various aspects a world reality. Therefore, as previously mentioned, Onuf defines that the world and words are directly linked (idem, 94 cf. Hopf 2002, 2, 5). Furthermore, this connection develops further in theory of the Discourse Analysis (DA). The theory of discourse analysis reveals versatile discourse structures; from which the discourse meaning derive – among other characteristics of discourse. As discourse is a social construct, it represents the way through which individuals construct a perception of the particular domain of the world (Van Dijk 1998, 10 cf. Jørgensen and Phillips 2002, 1). Having both constructivism and discourse analysis complementary with focus on meaning, language and discourse as a social construction, the utilization of a DA appears as one of the adequate choices for the methodological tool kit. Finally, an additional quality of DA's function of "constructed reality" summarizes in the words of Jørgensen and Phillips: "Meanings and representations are real" (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002, 8, 9).

One of the ways of defining discourse is through a few of its traits that may be important to be mention. Fairclough defines it as a "particular way of representation of some part of the world – physical, social or mental" (Fairclough, 2003, 17). Furthermore, he argues that discourses are directly linked with the individual representation or "projection" of the world. This "projection" stems from the position of such an individual in it as well as its personal and social identities. Moreover, social relations are an important point, elaborated as positioned toward individuals. Hence, a discourse may be regarded as an "imagined perception" of a world which may be regarded as not always necessarily reflecting the "actual" world. Finally, Fairclough formulated the discourse as "part of the resources that people deploy in relating one to the other" (idem, 124). In the light of the afore-given formulation, a DA represents a method used in the analysis of the spoken and written language. Both written and spoken language are collected data material in the data collection process of this study: the former in the web-based interviews and the later in one to one semi-structured interviews. Therefore, a DA utilizes an analysis of both: having in mind the transcription of the one to one interviews. In reference to its applicability, Fairclough lists a versatile disciplinary application; Sociology, Political Science, Education, Geography, History and other (idem, 1).

Another definition of a DA is that it is a method focused on enabling the study of the "language in use" (Van Dijk 1985, 1). Therefore, in the social context, use of a DA may shed light on the connections

between discourses and social situations (Van Dijk 1985, 4). Given the fact that this study's materials comprise of interviews with experts as well as members of the Russian language minority, together with the social nature of research questions, the use of DA can be considered as sufficiently justifiable. Moreover, Fairclough explains that language as the fundamental trait of human existence "dialectically interconnected", represents mandatory a part to be observed in social analysis and research (Fairclough 2003, 215). As Jørgensen and Phillips clarify, a DA may be used frame in which an identity as a construction may be analysed, (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002, 1-2). Finally, as Fairclough explains, the textual analysis contributed to research through the dialectics between the agent's social and personal identity "which takes styles and identity of being in their language" (Fairclough 2003, 223). The applicability of a DA requires the selection of a type of a DA, which is best suited towards an analysis of an answer to research questions. Finally, rationale behind DA as the method in this study rests in the research questions that rely on the perception of the Self and the Other: expressed a the discourse of the Russian language minority.

2.4.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis is a particular perspective on discourse analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDS) is an approach developed for a detailed research insight of discourse. In a research frame. According to Paul Chilton, CDA is perceived from one side as to carry a critical projection from within the Frankfurt School as well as the contributions of German sociologist Jürgen Habermas (Chilton 2005, 19). Furthermore, CDA focuses on the importance and abuse of power. Therefore, as Teun A. Van Dijk argues, it is a technique for a research of textual and talk resistance manifestations of "social power abuse, dominance and inequality in social and political context" (Van Dijk 2001, 352). CDA does not differentiate as an exceptionally different "school" or special approach in relation to other analysis within a circle of discourse analysis. Instead, it can be rather defined as particular perspective on the discourse analysis holding a wider range of the applicability in "conversation analysis, narrative analysis, rhetoric, stylistics, sociolinguistics, ethnography and others"; through critical observation (ibid.). Identities are an important part of the textual analysis in the scope of DA as well as CDA. Fairclough gives identification of personal and social identity through the analysis of the "styles, dialogically and linguistic realization of styles" (Fairclough 2003, 159-190). Moreover, the pronouns in the text reveal direction in which the presenter speaks of him or herself as "I", "we" or "generic you" (idem, 163).

2.4.2. Ideological Discourse Analysis and Textual Analysis

“Ideologies are especially relevant for management of social group relations, such as of those of domination and conflict, but also those of competition and conflict”

(Van Dijk 1998, 316).

In narrowed utilization of a discourse analysis, its analysing tools, a fusion of the Ideological Discourse Analysis (IDA) and Textual Analysis (TA) appears to offer an adequate and versatile tool kit for the research questions. The IDA highlights the multi-disciplinary analysis approach. Furthermore, the IDA departs from the system of shared beliefs and perception of self-other through “the ideological square” (Van Dijk 1998, 266-267). This relates directly to the nature of the research questions. Moreover, Norman Fairclough’s Textual Analysis (Fairclough, 2003 further) well implement IDA’s guidelines of mostly macro nature. Equally, Textual Analysis offers the legitimization issues within discourse from one to one and on line interviews (idem, 94). Therefore, the main type of discourses (idem, 129) can be well negotiated and extracted from a material through Textual Analysis techniques. In other words, the Textual Analysis contributes to answering research questions through an explanation of political activities or their absence by legitimization analysis and the main types of discourses. In summary, through the afore-described techniques the answers to both research questions appear from the collected data as well as additional qualitative explanations (type of political activities and type of discourse).

The Ideological Discourse Analysis is a type of Critical Discourse Analysis focused on studying ideology and group presentation. Equally, it focuses on the inter-group relations and perceptions, among which is a self-other dichotomy. In the theory of IDA, Teun van Dijk has integrated cognitive aspect through individual beliefs, and social sphere through group reproduction. The latter claim relates to a discourse, it unifies both ideology and discourse as a product of social construction (idem, 10). Thus, this theory appears to cast social constructivism, cognitive, identity self-other perception and discourse relevant approach into one (Hopf 2002, 2, 5). Stuart Hall defines the essence of ideology by relating it to a “mental framework” which incorporates a broad range of parts, from “languages and concepts” to “systems of representation and imagery of thought”. Moreover, he argues that the frameworks mentioned are used in understanding and the guidance of social groups within a society (Van Dijk 1998, 9). Paasi Anssi demystifies exclusivity of ideologies as properties of elites and emphasizes their constructive side as well as language: as an operation tool for socialization (Paasi 1996, 91). In order to understand an ideology better, it is important to define its basic components: knowledge, beliefs, opinions, attitudes and values. Along with the answer to the main research questions, reflecting the perception and political implications of self-other dichotomy the analysis of the collected data offers a reconstruction of the

underlying ideology or “anti-ideology” (Van Dijk 1998, 278). Before further elaboration of ideology, a notion of a social representation needs to be defined.

As Van Dijk defines, the following definitions formulate the thinking processes or cognitive dimension of the mind. Hence, knowledge is a type of beliefs that is perceived as verified and reliable for the perceived truth within it. They are parameters for validation of the truth known and widely shared social understandings. Furthermore, opinions are “evaluative beliefs” that individuals create through values and norms. The beliefs are regarded as the resulting value of the thinking processes or the “mind blocks”; they may include knowledge and opinions equally. Beliefs compose of an individual and group construction of the world (idem, 19, 33). The attitudes are connected number of beliefs or “beliefs clusters” which are not based on knowledge but are rather of evaluative nature. In other words, attitudes are larger groups of opinions. As Van Dijk argues, the formation of the several categories influence group attitude: “social position in a society, interest, context and other” (idem, 25, 33 cf. idem 62). The mentioned categories are important because they are elements in formation of the attitudes in the self-other perception of the Russian language minority. Furthermore, through the decomposition of the cognitive process of an individual and subsequently a group, it underpins the construction process. Equally, they extend towards the majority as well as the formation of the minority language identity (idem, 63). Values are culturally based systems of measure within the social surrounding. Hence, groups utilize values in defining of their ideologies. Equally, values compose of group ideological ideas in us-them nexus or self-other (idem, 73-76). Finally, social representations are organized collections of socially shared beliefs: “knowledge, attitudes, ideologies” (idem 46).

The important characteristic of an ideology is that is shared by a group as opposed to a sole existence as an individual opinion. Therefore, ideologies are, as Van Dijk defines “socially shared beliefs” (idem, 48) without an ideological nature per se in their determination: rather of a general nature. Hence, ideologies may be perceived as “general, abstract beliefs that underlie (other) social representations”. Thus, this places ideologies in the core of group constructions and understanding of the world (idem 314). Finally, ideologies are collectively shared social beliefs or representations located in the social mind. Therefore, an ideology through cognitive base may be formulated as

“Set of factual and evaluative beliefs – that is, the knowledge and opinions– of a group” (idem, 48).

As Van Dijk elaborates, “cognition, society and discourse” are three cornerstones, composing a frame, within which IDA analyses discourses and texts (Van Dijk 1998, 5). The three pillars mutually interplay to define an ideology. First is “society” and “social” that represent the environment that fosters an

ideology's existence. Moreover, it is directly connected to an interplay of power and interest perceptions and relations among various groups as the stakeholders of social processes (idem, 5,161). Cognition relates to the social construction or "system of ideas and beliefs" that are fundamental to ideologies and their key catalysers. In sciences that study the flow of the mind and ideas, this phenomena is defined as cognition (idem, 18). Therefore, as Van Dijk interprets, discourse is present in the aforementioned trinity as ideologies reproduce through language and discourse (idem, 5 cf. idem 230-231). All three of the afore defined segments have a versatile applicability in my research. Firstly, the social segment relates to the social nature of the underlying ideology or anti-ideology that can be observed from the collected data. Secondly, the cognition represents beliefs, attitudes and evaluative character of opinions through which the Russian language minority portrays its other in the political sphere, the Finnish majority. Equally, all related limitation and motivation factors stem from the cognitive abilities as the minority members may perceives them. Thus, a discourse communicate the social and cognitive segment among minority members. Finally, it provides the extraction technique foundation from which the data can be exploited in the IDA.

An ideology structure involves presence of several categories in order to be recognized as such. Van Dijk portrays them as following:

1. *"Membership:* Who we are? Where are we from? What do we look like? Who belongs to us? Who can become a member of our group?
2. *Activities:* What do we do? What is expected of us? Why are we here?
3. *Goals:* Why do we do this? What do we want to realize?
4. *Values/norms:* What are our main values? How do we evaluate self and other? What should (not) be done?
5. *Position and group relations:* What is our social position? Who are our enemies and opponents? Who are like us and who are different?
6. *Resources:* What are the essential resources that our group has or need to have?" (idem, 69-70).

As ideologies contain all of the defined categories, it is equally possible to define groups by one of the categories. Therefore, the category of "*Position and group relations*" can be applied to the Russian language minority as minority positioning criteria. Thus, this category would reveal the perception of the self and other (idem, 70). The Self and the Other in the in-group-outgroup relationship involves an issue of determinants for the group establishment criteria. They range from class up to women, men and so on. It also requires natural groups, which refers to the membership of the group whereby the members are "born into" as well as the groups where the others visualize them as such (idem, 151). This type of

criteria is applicable to this study in the sense of the Russian native speaking group as the naturally born characteristics of the speakers. Finally, the issue of group formation and ideology draws upon a possible identity-ideology conflict whereby ideology can be perceived to assume social identity in intergroup relations. There Van Dijk argues the possible conflict may be resolved on the basis of the changing nature of the social identity while ideology is perceived on a self-explanatory basis in which an identity can be constructed. Moreover, the ideology characteristics carry more stability features than “social identity” (idem, 121). A perception of an interplay between the “group opinions” interplays a “group social opinion” directly connects to the ideological square bellow (idem, 267). Hence, in-group sense the representation rests on the four “main moves”:

“Express/emphasize information that is positive about US

Express/emphasize information that is negative about THEM

Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about THEM

Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about US” (idem, 266-267).

The afore-distinguished pillars or the “moves” represent the central point of my analysis through the use of IDA. The same logic is a “filter” through which the online interview responses are analysed. Moreover, the “Local Meaning”, in combination with the other IDA structures, will significantly contribute to the answers on both research questions as well as the reconstruction of the undelaying ideology or anti-ideology in the interviewees discourse. In other words, the lexical analysis and positive or negative meanings from it will be synthesized with the “context” and “context models” (ibid.).

2.4.2.1. Ideological Discourse Structures

Ideological identification within the discourse may be conducted in a number of ways, in dependence of a discourse analysis technique. Hence, Van Dijk offers several strategies and structures that I find relevant for the subject of my analysis. The basic focus in the all discourses analysis of the IDA is the perception of Us and Them (idem 275). In identification of an underlying ideology or anti-ideology of the Russian language minority, following IDA structures appear as adequate.

Context and Context Models. They are a comprehensive number of properties that may influence the production of communication. Hence, context is a framing factor of all “pragmatic aspects” in the IDA within any type of communication: for example, text or talk (idem, 211). As Van Dijk defines, different social groups hold equally different ideologies that are often in direct connection to context factual base. In other words, in an attempt to control the factual dimension of context, a social group may reveal its

ideological properties such as “group identity, activities and goals” (ibid.). Within the context, a personal or experience dimension of an individual thought which one interprets a “social situation” as well as reveals an opinion are defined as the Context Models (idem, 212). In order to reconstruct the possible underlying ideology of the RLM or part of it. Hence, context models are utilized in the analyses of the web-based interviews. Equally, bearing in mind that not all categories are present in the collected material, the ones that exist provide a sufficient contribution for an ideology reconstruction.

Local Meanings. Van Dijk portrays, local meanings serve the purpose of supporting the main topic in general determination of the discourse connection As such are utilized for a further interpretation of the discourse; hence, they may contain bias interpretation. A perception of an interplay between the “group opinions” and a “group social opinion” directly connects to the ideological square within the previously defined “four main moves” (idem, 267). Hence, in-group sense of the representation rests on those “moves” (idem, 266-267). Moreover, the Local Meaning, in combination with the other IDA structures, will significantly contribute to the answers on the both research questions as well as the reconstruction of the underlying ideology or anti-ideology in the interviewees discourse. In other words, the lexical analysis and its positive or negative meanings synthesize with the “context” and “context models” (ibid.).

Lexical Analysis. According to Van Dijk argues the most productive technique is lexical analysis (idem, 203). The rationale behind this conclusion is that both textual and verbal utterances immanently contain reflection of individual and group opinions. In order for the meaning to be adequately interpreted “the lexically codified” meanings are used in an ideological analysis (idem, 205). Therefore, lexical analysis offers the frame for a perception of the Other without and within political contemplations. Equally, having in mind the background’s versatility of the RLM on basis of the lexical determinants it is possible to allocate the discourse properties of the underlying ideology of the group or its part. Finally, lexical analysis is fully complementary as a guideline for positioning on the “ideological square” as well as in giving it additional dimension to analysis.

Style and Rhetoric. As Van Dijk recommends, style characteristics in the definition of the Self and the Other in the interviews determine the perception of the self and other in a connection to the possible meaning of the political and social activities (idem 270). Referring to styles, as Fairclough advises the focus is placed on personal or group representation – I or We – as well as use of “adverbials” (Fairclough 2003, 161-163). Referring to the rhetoric’s, the indication of the self-other perception derives through possible “metaphors” and various “rhetorical figures” in the light of the self-other dichotomy. Both style

and rhetoric connect to “the ideological square” (Van Dijk 1998, 272-273,267). Furthermore, it appears purposive to connect style analysis to the “four moves” (idem, 267) and hence provide additional value to the IDA. Finally, the style and rhetoric analysis is used in the analysis of the one to one interviews with the experts.

Legitimation is one of the most important traits used in connection with an ideology. As Van Dijk defines, in order to justify certain ideology or system of beliefs, social groups as well as individuals are using legitimation in the discourse (idem 255). To do so the Fairclough’s discourse analysis technique appears as adequate. Furthermore, as he clarifies there are “four main strategies” of legitimation:

“Authorization”: the legitimation resting upon “authority of tradition, custom, law and individuals representing institutions.

“Rationalization”: legitimation based on the “utility of the institutionalized action and knowledges society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity”.

“Moral Evaluation”: legitimation resting on the “value system”.

“Mythopoesis”: legitimation, which is given through “narrative”, (Fairclough 2003, 98).

These semantic connections classify the interviewees’ answers into legitimizations of afore-described categories and thus explain the justification given by interviewees on political activity or inactivity. Equally, it provides a rationale behind the self-other influence from lexicalization analysis. Finally, defined analysis of web-based interviews is compared to the expert one to one interviews conclusions.

Identification of Discourses appears in the final analysis; category is identification or negotiation of the main discourses present in collected interview data. As Fairclough advises, the main discourses in this chapter identify through an allocation of “the main themes” and “the main perspectives” or representations perceived through certain perspective (idem, 129). Pending on the nature or character of those perspectives, the nature of discourse depends on perceiving of the representations. Therefore, if an individual’s observes the social issues from conservative point the discourse in use will be conservative. Furthermore, the difference between the discourses and representations is that discourses identification requires certain to be “shared by groups of people” and “stability over time”. Hence, as Fairclough argues, discourses overcome representations and thus one discourse may contain a number of representations (idem, 124). The rationale behind the use of discourse identification is a qualitative understanding of the context models and thinking process behind perception of the Self and the Other. Furthermore, it enables the reconstruction, through discourse, of the other’s influence on the RLM political affinities.

In conclusion, all of the afore-presented analysis of discourse structures are drawn upon in an attempt to achieve as versatile insight into interview answers as possible. An analysis distinction between the online interviews and expert one to one interviews is that in expert interviews are only analysed with lexical analysis and legitimation. The purpose of such choice in necessity to understand the self-other perception and legitimation from an expert observation angle. Equally, lexical analysis contributes to a frame, which describes an underlying ideology.

2.5. Language, Minority, Identity, the Connection

The language identity link is a subject of the analyses in many fields and hence entails versatile perceptions: historical, sociologic, political and many more. One of the first sociological psychologists to emphasize the importance of language as “basic mechanism” and part of “social behaviour “and identity was Mead. In the genesis of language formation, he refers to the attitudes of one (or the Self, my addition), causing in return the attitudes of the Other. Thus, this initiates a process from which derives a language as its product (Mead 1967, 13-14). Moreover, Mead emphasizes importance of a “language process” calling it “essential” for development of the self (Mead 1967, 135). The link of language and identity is an important one and it can be observed as twofold. John Edwards speaks of the connection of the minority, language and identity as an issue that is in a broader social and political context of identification. Firstly, a group identity representation is identified with language as a marker. Hence, a minority language is a carrier of a group or minority identity and as Edwards depicts “language is to group identity as badge is to a jersey” (Edwards 2010, 205). In such an understood connection between the identity and language there is a constant struggle for minority groups to preserve their language from vanishing from use or “the language shift” (idem, 11). The second link is a self-other dichotomy reflected through majority-minority language relationship or indigenous-immigrant languages. As Edwards argues in a number of cases, one language prevails over another due to the perception of the identity related to use of language or identity identification to the language. A perception of language is often misinterpreted in the social and political context. It reduces only to issue of usability treated in “isolation from other social currents”. It is ultimately a deceiving perception. The language and identity may be observed as a two faces of same coin (idem, 206).

Majority and minority languages as well as dialects are also perceived to be influencing factors on social groups, identity and minority majority relationship. For instance, John Edwards portrays a language and dialect study of the English majority and the French minority in Québec, Canada. The study showed that in an evaluation of the “semantic-differentiation scale” including notions of “ambition, intelligence and

sense of humour” the minority members have regarded majority voices as superior to them. Moreover, the study concluded that minority members perceived themselves as “subordinate “towards the majority; the power relation and identity connection is rather clear. Moreover, the same study showed that dialects have the same influence and power relation between a minority language abroad and in kin state. The French dialects are evaluated as being more sophisticated compared to the Quebec (Edwards 2009, 90). This example may be related to the notion of diaspora that I will define at later stage.

3. TRANSNATIONALISM, THE SELF AND OTHER

3.1. Defining Nation

“When large number of people collectively operate as an agent, when they have agents acting for them, when they have some considerable measure of identity (including some place identified as theirs), and when they are free to act within very wide limits, these people constitute a country”

Nicholas Onuf (Onuf 1998, 65)

Notions of a nation and nationalism are widely discussed topics in a number of contributions. However, not thoroughly and properly, if Peter J. Taylor is right. Moreover, as he argues, a significant number of emerging “new nationalisms in old states” in a post-Cold War period testify to a chapter of a nation that is closed prematurely or a “chronic underestimation of nation” (Paasi Anssi 1996, xv).

Prior to the detailed definition of nation, in a focus of self-other dichotomy via the majority-minority pair, it makes sense to delimit the notion of a state from a nation. In that direction, the definition of Montserrat Guibernau who draws upon Max Weber appeared adequate. Hence, she defines that the state is “...a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the *legitimate use of physical force* within given territory (Guibernau 1995, 47). Parallel, for the same reason – of a human community – she defines a notion of a nation through the bonds of “culture, demarcated territory, common past and a common projection for the future and claiming the right to rule itself” (ibid.). Equally, Anthony Smith highlights a set of connective preconditions that form a nation; “an historic territory, shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs” (Smith 2002, 15). Furthermore, as Smith elaborates the identity of a nation requires “some sense of political community” (Smith, 1991, 9). A political community just as any form of organized human community rests significantly on symbolic and symbols. Thus from a psychological perspective, William Bloom argues that community or “mass” as he defines it require to “...have internalized the symbols of the nation” in construction of the national identity (Bloom 1990, 52).

Different theories offer a different genesis of a nation. Hence, the primordial view of a nation origin bases its rationale on a nation in interplay of authentic cultural traditions, history and the power of enduring traditions” (Delanty 2001, 473). As the constructivist view is my selected theoretical frame I have found that constructivism defines a nation and national utilizing all the aforementioned approaches. Furthermore, constructivism does not deny the previously defined scale of rationales, yet it utilizes all of them into playing out the result of the constructed and shared feeling of membership of the nation. Thus, as Benedict Anderson portrays in practical terms, the nation of national membership is shared in

construction or imaginary that does not require a direct level of intimacy or mutual cognition among its members “...yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 2006, 6). Benedict Anderson’s definition of a constructed national feeling of unity or togetherness is present in the early days of determination of Finland as an independent nation. Hence, as Anssi Paasi defines in the light of the determined boundaries of Finland under Swedish governance. The absence of a nation related discussion in Finland, at the time replaced by conscious feeling of belonging to the same “Suomi” nation (Paasi 1996, 84).

In conclusion of the notion of a nation, all given definitions are valid and there is no reason to insist on mutual exclusion: example, constructed feeling of a nation does not or should not at least exclude a factual and real territory. In my observation point of constructivism, the shared imaginary of a nation offers most comprehensive rationale behind it. The concrete application of a perception of a nation or national unity’s construction is observable from the collected data of on line interviews and categorized discourses. As this would mean proliferation of the study topic, a luxury that I cannot afford, it is therefore here for possibly interested reader(s) to view it. Nevertheless, on the basis of the earlier presented factors a nation stems from— among other things— a feeling of a perceived mutual bonds, history and/or traditions and I would argue perceived collective identity. Hence, a notion of a nation appear as rather clear case of constructivist approach in its construction. Thus, it is contested and open for redefinition with time and spatial factors: among other.

3.2. Defining Politics

“Politics is the art of the possible, the attainable-the art of the next best”

Otto von Bismarck, first chancellor of the German empire 1871–1890

There were and there are many definitions of politics in the world today. The word “politics” was used for the first time in ancient Greece and it was used as term “*politico*” which referred to city states or as it was called at the time “*polis*”. The polis as city and state was the frame for the interplay of the state, cultural and religious topics of its population at the time. Historically, one of the first definers of the politics was Aristotle. He was using the term “*politike*”, an abbreviation for the term “*politike episteme*” which refers to political science. Under political science, Aristotle saw a politician, a person or persons who are highly competent and educated in the management of political issues. Aristotle foresaw the management of the state/city affairs and the individual dealing with those issues. According to Aristotle, the precondition on practicing politics is the constitution of the state. Furthermore, upon the adoption of the constitution, the politician is to maintain it, introduce needed reforms and safeguard it from events

that may endanger it (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy s.a.). Referring to Aristotle, one can conclude that politics is a tool for a general improvement of the quality of life. By its nature, it defines conflict and cooperation of human beings in achieving an optimally possible within mutual interaction in a given moment. Away from ancient Greece and Aristotle, towards modern times it further may be said that politics is present in almost all spheres and all levels of a modern society: from a state government down to associations of citizens that focus on various issues. Hence, many political theorists and scholars in history found their interest and pleasure in an effort to define it.

Transiting from Aristotle's to a definition of contemporary politics, one of the most used is David Easton's definition. Hence, he delimits political from other social relations through their focus on "authoritative allocation of values for society" (Easton 1969, 50). Easton's definition implies a certain level of social consensus on the nature of values. Hence, broad social consensus on values – prior to their authoritative allocation– involves acceptance by a majority of individuals as well as the existing groups. However, at the same time within previously marked values framework, the various social groups' interests collide. Thus, in this light may be observed Karl Deutsch's understanding of politics "through the pursuit of interests of particular individuals or groups" (Deutsch 1980, 10). Just like many other human inspired and implemented activity, the definition of politics, its branches and spheres is a contested notion. In the course of this study, it is fundamental to define politics but also a notion of political activities: or at least to come close enough. Andrew Heywood frames conflict and cooperation in the heart of politics. Furthermore, as he argues, politics is an "activity through which people make preserve and amend the general rules under which they live". Furthermore, Heywood defines as nexus between "conflict and cooperation" to act as driving force in directing the dynamics of politics towards resolution: not as a must of course" (Heywood 2002, 4, 21-22). In relation to political activities, as Goel and Smith divide them into "conventional and unconventional". Below division describe both:

<u>"Conventional</u>	<u>Unconventional</u>
Voting	Demonstrating
Discussing Politics	Marching and sitting in
Campaigning	Engaging in civil disobedience
Attending meetings and rallies	Holding political strikes
Forming a group	Rioting
Contacting government officials	Engaging in guerrilla activity
Belonging to a political party	Engaging in guerrilla rebellions" (Goel & Smith 1980, 77).

3.3. Transnationalism, Transnational Political Spaces and Agents

Transnationalism as such is a combined word. Prefix “Trans” comes from the Latin language and it defines the meaning of “across, beyond, through” (Dictionary.com s.a.). Thus, in international relations, the notion of the transnationalism suggest the area beyond a nation. Furthermore, a number of scholars define transnationalism as a socially constructed space designed and aimed at migrants. Through it they attempt to synthesize their new and more complex life compared to their previous one. Moreover, this social construction or “the process” as Thomas Faist et al. define it, aims to downplay the gap between the old and new. Hence, through construction and reinvention of the connections between their native homeland and newly adopted country of residence (Faist et al. 2013, 12 cf. Mathias et al. 2009, 11).

The formulation beyond "national" suggest that transnationalism is beyond national in sense of structure as well as in an agency. It is then not difficult to imagine that transnationalism evokes the notion of space as a new measure or delimitation unit: used to mark a frame of transnational activities. Thus, there are several important elements related to transnational spaces. First, a closer delimitation of the transnational space and agents is required. Furthermore, as Mathias et al. argue, an idea along the formulation of delimitation lines of a transnational space depicts “... phenomena and processes, which cross national boundaries but are not global in scope, while at least involving one non-state actor”. Therefore, transnational spaces draw upon what may be considered as flexible criteria through which those agency stakeholders involved in transnational relations may involve the “limited set” of “state actors”. However, the upper delimiting number as well as type is not set on an imperative value (idem, 7-8 cf. Faist et al. 2013, 12). Secondly, as previously discussed, an important part in the construction of transnational spaces rests upon the process of migration and migrants as agents and important social entrepreneurs in such a process. Thomas Faist et al. – quoting on Basch et al. 1994 – define the social relations created by, and involving migrants. Furthermore, they referred to the procedure as a “process by which migrants forge and sustain the multi stranded social relations that link together their societies of settlement and origin” (Faist et al. 2013, 8). Finally, Mathias et al. are refer to the transnational spaces and processes in relation to globalization as well as the actors: it is a process “via media” that delimits “more than just international”. Equally, it is less than global in case of former and the importance agency of the non-state actors in the political processes in later (Mathias et al. 2009, 11-12). Third, in the description of the ties of a transnational space, Thomas Faist – referring to Glich Shiller et al. – observes them as the migrants’ incentive, yet as far more than sheer migrant interface ties. Moreover, through the dichotomy of a “global in the local” and physics of the time nature of these ties as “dense continuous ties across the border of states” he emphasizes the notion of “transnational social spaces” appearing. Furthermore, as

he formulates several notions of a “combination of ties”, “networks and organizations” as well as “networks of organizations that cut across of the borders of at least two national states” (Faist et al 2013, 13). Following on these arguments, Mathias et al. – quoting Pries L. – promote the notion of agency inclusion imperative in a transnational relations, through the existence of a “non-state actors” (Mathias et al. 2009, 8). Finally, as Al Ali and Koser propose, transnational networks designed by and for the migrants contain the membership through “shared identity”, “common ethnicity” and/or “collective memory of the home country” (Al-Ali and Koser 2002, 10).

The transnational agents – as it may be concluded from the above elaborated – a part from the states, involve a versatile range of actors. They range from organizations to the transnational companies as “macro agents” down to transnational NGOs, migrant organizations and phenomena of diasporas as transnational communities in the transnational spaces: among other connected to transnational political spaces (Mathias et al. 2009, 14 cf. Faist et al. 2013, 10 cf. Vertovec 2009, 28-29). Through relation of an agency to the transnational dimension of this study, synthesized in the part of identity extension argument, I argue that the RLM’s organizations along with their membership in the metropolitan area are immanent lever in transnational diaspora phenomenon. Hence, they are establishing themselves as non-state actors in transnational political space.

The transnational political space – as given by Mathias et al. – is in essence, a political space between states and non-state actors reflected through their mutual communication; it carries traits of contestation and flexibility (Mathias et al. 2009, 8). Moreover, in depicting the essence of the political space they argue against top-down relationship of states against non-state actors. Furthermore, a political space in this sense rests primarily on interplay of the notions such as “point of convergence”, “collective representations” and “cross border exchange on the broader social base” (ibid.). Therefore, as Fiona Adamson defines, it is placed in between “within the state and the interstate actor’s relations – “the fall between the cracks” (Adamson 2002, 156). There is a number of factors, which reify the transnational political space. Referring to Mathias et.al., there is a set of several key notions of the transnational political spaces construction. First, the idea of transnational political space and extended suggest a shift from the concept of territory towards the concept of space (Faist et al. 2013, 10 cf. Wendt 1999, 202). It is in stark opposition to Westphalian interstate relations concept. Hence, that offers new standpoint and observation’s horizon: in former multidisciplinary approach and in later the marking of the “transnational political connections” through “their variable internal structures and external boundaries” (Mathias et al. 2009, 17). The space-identity nexus suggest that a territory – in terms of the state territory–

have stopped to serve as an exclusive frame container of the identity; identity enters the space-transnational political frame. This trait is one of the arguments of this thesis against Alexander Wendt argument. Secondly, as Mathias et.al. well point out, a political inclusion and/or exclusion enables participation of a range of the social groups into the political processes. Thus, it is a “social transformation” caused by the factors of “migration and global economic markets”. Finally, communication as an exchange channel, intensified and magnified by the media, contributes significantly in a sense of interfacing the stakeholders and audience as well as delimiting the space itself. On another note, its ambiguity is reflected in the deconstruction of transnational political spaces by expanding them (idem, 17-19). Finally, the specific existence determinants of a transnational political space frame – within and beyond national – directly influence agent’s fluidity of the political identities as well as the “formation of the dense transnational fields” (Adamson 2002, 157).

In reference to constructivist’s perception on the political transnational, it appears as an idea of the notion’s evolution into political mobility: “beyond governments and other institutions of the state” (Faist et al. 2013, 13 cf. Mathias et al. 2009, 8). Moreover, the constructivists’ idea of transnational political spaces rests on the “identifiable actors and their practices and discourses” (ibid.). Hence, further entails social constructivism of the intersubjective relations and construction segment: “social gatherings and “linguistic constructions” (ibid. 19 cf. Langenohl 2009, 212-237). In a summary, transnationalism and transnational political spaces involve a number of activities and exchanges that may be observed in mutual constitution of the all previously given processes and factors. As an illustration of one of them is the for example, the transnational political practices and activities may be Turkish migrants and diaspora in Germany and case of migrant called Adnan. It illustrates his parallel participation in Turkish and German political system, participation in Turkish based NGO in Germany and other (Faist et al. 2013, 39-42).

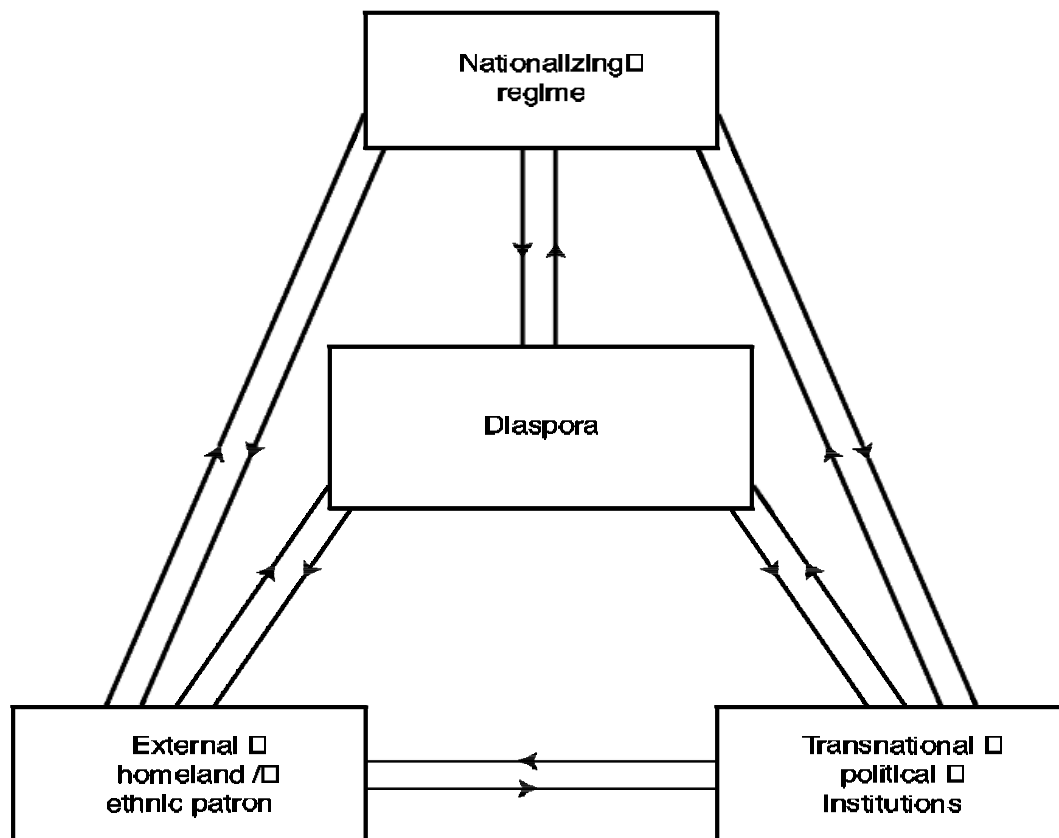
In order to lift the level of transnational political activities from the grass-roots level of an individual involvement, I will refer to the transnational political process experience that engulf the diaspora political space. The citizenship narrative of the Russian diaspora in Estonia and Latvia involved in a vivid interaction between versatile transnational political agents: the Russian diaspora in Estonia and Latvia, Russia as the homeland or “ethnic patron”, transnational political institution (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe OSCE or “the West” and nationalizing regime in Estonia (Smith 1999, 504). As Graham Smith portrays in his narrative, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Estonian and Latvian nationalizing regimes laid a set of limitative legislative and cultural norms on the

Russian diaspora portraying them as “the colonial other” (idem, 511). Moreover, such limitations were precluding the Russian diaspora population residing in Estonia and Latvia in an effective exercise of the social and political rights through obtaining of the institution of citizenship (idem, 503, 509). The legislative norms were reflected in examples such as “Law on Aliens” in Estonia – in practice restricting the Russian resident diaspora’s freedom of movement. Further, as Smith describes, all the described was followed by an exclusion of minority residents from the social flows as well as by the cultural and socially conditioned requests for the process of majority’s language adoption (idem 512).

What followed was a harsh media rhetoric between the “ethnic patron” and nationalizing regimes. Moreover, autonomy held referendum by diaspora members in the north of Estonia as well as the inclusionists against exclusionist clashes of the political elites. In the aftermath of this intense exchange of attitudes, transnational political institution influence was crucial. Hence, influence manifested through “carefully constructed language” that has accommodated a viable political or even conflict free concept. It was therefore in a way the *sui generis* concept and not far long-term solution, yet it pacified the opposing parties. In a sense of the current concept, it is important to note the outcome for the Russian diaspora in Estonia that have left it in a large extent politically unsuccessful. Moreover, it failed in the alternative modules in negotiating possible bending the citizenship legislation and to the large extent of “factionalized” (idem, 520). As Smith argue, the OSCE have exercised their expertise in interpretation of international human rights and minorities issues in two advisory capacities to the Estonian and Latvian governments. First, in the addressing to the “proto-democracies of the East” the OSCE have promoted “inclusion of the all residents into the citizenship” stemming from the various European and international norms and legislation. Secondly, OSCE – through the High Commission on National Minorities – have defined the “premise” through which the minority rights were observed in the prism of the individual rights: ensuring the former to be preserved in the respecting of the later. These advices stabilized political tensions in Estonia in particular in relation to the majority speaking Russian North of the country (idem, 515-516).

In summary of the previously established transnational political experience, I would argue that – a side from the idea of transnational political practice – it offers the evidence of the identity extension beyond national territories in two aspects. First, the political elites of the national regime, have clearly merged in their observations the Russian diaspora and kin state identity into one – through favouring an exclusion agenda of the Russian diaspora, or the Russian language minority. The forms of the equalizations were through discourse social construction containing qualifications such as “fifth columnists” as well as “the

colonizing other”. Moreover, the borders between the resident diaspora and ethnic kin state were erased while the national regime and diaspora borders were emphasized (idem 512). Equally, the inflexible citizenship policies to the resident Russian population increase the exclusion from political and other spheres of society. Further, by securitization of the diaspora autonomy issue, through official as well as partly media discourse, the Estonian public opinion have formed representation of identity equalization between Russia as state as well as the Russian resident diaspora. The Bronze soldier statue incident is an additional argument to this claim (Даниэль Александр, 2007). On the other hand, Russian foreign politics that conditioned its troop withdrawal in concessions of the Baltic national regimes vis-à-vis future status of the Russian diaspora supports argument of transnational identity extension. Finally, the social constructed discourse appeared on behalf of the Russian government through qualifications such as “ethnic cleansing” and “social apartheid”. Through it they have extended the identity identification to the Russian diaspora in Estonia and Lithuania (idem, 508).



“The institutional arena of diasporic politics” (Smith 1999, 505).

3.4. Diaspora and Identities in a Transnational Political Space

“People crossing boundaries and boundaries crossing people” (Adamson 2012, 28)

The notion diaspora derived from the Greek terms “Dia” that means over and “Spiro” which means to sow). In contemporary discussions, the notion of diaspora is a contested one (Adamson 2012, 27). Hence, a number of other authors such as Thomas Faist perceive diaspora genesis in relation to the migration process of the Jewish population “after the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem” (Faist 2013, 121). Fiona B. Adamson observes and defines the conflicting camps as essentialists and constructivists. The former hold diaspora as an overarching notion of a cross border mobility such as “migration, exile and dispersal” and later hold the view in light of the social constructivist lenses that include “discourse, elite manipulation or processes of political mobilization” (Adamson 2012, 27). Writing of the multiple dimension of the diaspora impact on American home political as well as the foreign policy, Yossi Shain defines diaspora members. He illustrates them around the matrix of their shared “ethnic-national-religious origin” positioning them externally to the home country. Moreover, Shain defines diaspora “as defined by them and, or, the others, as members or potential members of their country of origin” (Shain 1999, 8). Maria Koinova framed diaspora in the generational continuity of the immigrants with an identity and homeland commonality (Koinova 2010, 150).

In asserting the homeland-“geographic dispersal” nexus, Fiona Adamson emphasized the collective identity construction of diaspora abroad. Moreover, as she argues on different types of diaspora division. Thus, she portrayed – quoting on Cohen 1997– the diaspora typology through definitions of “victim-Jewish and Armenian, labour-Chinese, Imperial-British, trading-Indian and cultural-Caribbean” (Adamson 2012, 28). Furthermore, based on the collective identity of diaspora, in his other contribution from 2008, Robert Cohen specifies that diaspora connectives expand beyond the true/mythical homeland-place of settlement nexus into transnational dimension. As Cohen formulated against the “formal citizenship” the collective identity is extended “in solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries” through “bonds of language, religion and a sense of common fate” with the “intimate quality”. Moreover, he amplifies the transnational significance rested upon the communities and mutual “transnational bonds of co-responsibility” beyond territorial aspect. (Cohen 2008, 7-8). Furthermore, his claim may be observed in light of primordial dimension of the connections in combination with the social constructivism.

The transnational existence of diaspora involves the aspect of the political nature within. In the social construction perception of the diaspora, its political existence, core elements are “strategic transnational socially constructed identity communities” utilized through use by “political entrepreneurs” as argued by Fiona Adamson. Furthermore, she interprets that the series of collective transnational identities as a “marker” may be utilized and be drawn upon by “political entrepreneurs” in a number of different collective identities; “ethnic, national, religious” (Adamson 2012, 32). A transnational collective identity as a social construction and later utilization may be counter argued by the contemporary nature of the nations and diaspora alike. Moreover, as Maria Koinova identifies that the “dual citizenships” and “multiple loyalties” complicate the collective identity marker previously given by Adamson. Hence, she finds the national homogeneity in a majority of the world as a relic of the 19th century (Koinova 2010, 150). However, in light of Fiona Adamson’s “social construction and framing of a shared collective identity” in transnational space – through migration and migrants – diaspora stands in between two political systems: residing and home country. Hence, new “identity categories and discourses” appear (Adamson 2012, 33). In light of the social construction of the diaspora collective identity discourses, to consider following as to be underpinned;

1. Diaspora activists’ categories, 2. Diaspora political mobilization, 3. Diaspora transnational agency and discourse, 4. Homeland state identity extension.

Within the diaspora membership, political activism is in proportion to the category of membership. Hence, as Yossi Shain elaborated – referring on Alicja Iwańska – categories are; “core members” most active, “rear guard” members of the former category in less active engagement and “silent” members that are considered as desirable in “diaspora politics” by versatile stakeholders in the process; “diaspora elites, home governments or host governments” (Shain 1999, 19). Political activities require political mobilization. Hence, a diaspora political mobilization often rests on the ideologies and as such, nationalism is rather a powerful one. Fiona Adamson emphasized the nationalism “sense of groupness” and capitalizing on the transnationality discourse structures connecting diaspora and homeland (Adamson 2012, 35). Martin Sökefeld lists several conditions in the social construction of the “consciousness” for political mobilization of a diaspora. They are:

- i. “Opportunity structures”- communication, adequate legal and political climate,
- ii. “Mobilizing practices” - various associations, forms of collective gathering and financial activities “fund raising”
- iii. “Frames- ideas like roots and home” (Cohen 2008, 13).

Based on the previous notable example on Russian diaspora in Baltic region I argue my claim, opposing Alexander Wendt's on state identity. Equally, referring to the diaspora's agency and discourse on the one hand and homeland state identity extension on the other illustrate following examples. Yossi Shain portrayed an idea of Jewish diaspora organizations in the United States of America as continuous and strong lobbyists of Israel's agendas within the USA; consequently reflecting on the US foreign policy. In doing so, I argue that they are extending the state of Israel constructed identity into transnational political space. Moreover, as Shain presented, through capitalizing on its strong position in the resident state, the Jewish diaspora serve as an unofficial messenger and pressure channel between the USA and Israeli government: the Jewish diaspora religious and political liberalism— established in the US society experiences— confronts the historical homeland position, at times. As such, it is equally proving itself in different times as an independent agent in transnational space. The discourse used in addressing Israel by its diaspora support this argument: "Save Israel from itself" (Shain 1999, 9 cf. *idem*, 200-202). The similar template of the dual loyalty can be identified with Greek diaspora in the USA (*idem*, 67). Finally, in light of the previously defined Maria Koinova emphasized a "multiple loyalties" as a part of the existence of the contemporary diasporas (Koinova 2010, 150).

Secondly, the end as an example of the identity extension of the homeland into transnational space and hence, diaspora as the agent I would give an example of Croatian diaspora activities in the USA: as stated by Yossi Shain. In the limelight of the Yugoslavian state collapse, the new Croatian government acted in an effort to secure a support of the USA government to its independence and further on detailed agenda. Moreover, the implementing hands – possessing know how as well as the on the ground expertise – was mobilized by the Croatian Diaspora. Therefore, the diaspora groups established "the Office of Republic Croatia in Washington". Furthermore, Croatian diaspora politically lobbied with Jewish organizations for the support with government of the USA to Croatian independence. Finally, as Shain elaborates they have established "a branch of President's Franjo Tudjman's party" in the USA: Cleveland (Shain 1999, 65). In summary, the previously mentioned examples, along with previously presented Lithuanian and Estonian cases, establishes the extension of the identity from the state beyond Westphalian lines via diaspora into a transnational space. This is in no sense the only example as this pattern can be found throughout literature. In example, a parallel can be made with Cypriot Greek diaspora in the UK (Adamson and Demetriou 2007, 508).

3.5. Finnish Political Legislation

Constitution of Finland guarantees a legal frame and rights of the political activities as well as freedoms. In more concrete terms, following sections cover the respective areas:

1. “Section 12 - Freedom of expression and right of access to information
2. Section 13 - Freedom of assembly and freedom of association
3. Section 14 - Electoral and participatory rights
4. Section 22 - Protection of basic rights and liberties” (Ministry of Justice of Finland 1999).

A detailed regulation, with respective rules and guidelines is “Finnish Associations Act”. The first edition was issued in 25th May 1989 and the last amendment was on 28th of June 2013. Furthermore, the relevant sections, which regulate activities of associations, are following:

1. Section 1, Application
2. Section 2, Restrictions for application
3. Section 3, Prohibited associations
4. Section 4, Associations subject to permission
5. Section 5, Economic activities
6. Section 6, Legal effects of registration
7. Section 10, Membership
8. Section 12, Joining an association (Finnish Patent and Registration Office, s.a.).

Concerning the upper listed sections, none of them poses limitations or obstacles in participation to respective associations by a general population. Equally, incentives of a majority towards a minority established the office of the main – “the actions that will cause the Other to recognize that identity” – represent sufficient frame of the legislation norms as incentives for the political activities of the RLM (Hopf 1998, 173 cf. Guzzini 2000, 160-161). Therefore, the formal legislative preconditions for any type of the political activity of any minority in Finland are in place. Equally, this extends to any association and organization.

3.6. Concept of the Self - Other dichotomy

As outlined in the theory chapter, among other defining characteristics, an identity is a contested term, unstable and relational. Hence, a relational dimension of identity formation involves a nexus between the Self and the Other. Furthermore, the self-other nexus present in almost every segment and sphere of a social existence. As Iver Neumann points out – in reference to anthropologist Johan Friedman – the first level of otherness begins at home with our primary others” (Neumann 1999, 5). Thus, this formulation may be considered as an anthropological application of the previously discussed conclusions

of Mead (Mead 1965, 222). Prior to further discussion of the dichotomy, it is important to understand the essence that establishes the “otherness” of the Other. Frederik Barth argues, the “otherness” is a subject of analysis from established “social boundaries” as well as “if a group maintains its identity” towards the Other. (Barth 1969, 15). Furthermore, as Barth argues the perception of sameness or otherness involves shared or divisive lines of perception. The perceived otherness in relation to the Other may contain several “levels” of dividing lines, including cultural, territory and language. Even through political construction perceived languages differ. Therefore, it may be argued that all of the mentioned elements entail a divisive construction of dichotomy that rests on equally constructed divisive lines of the “otherness” (ibid. cf. Neumann 1999, 7).

In the paraphrased words of Alexander Wendt’s argument “States are people too”, I would extend it to “Larger entities are people too”. Consider Europe for example, in light of Iver Neumann's self-other nexus (Wendt 1999, 215 cf. Neumann, 1999). Agent’s size in this respect does not matter. What matters more is the point of the observation and context of the agent’s existence in which its existence is constructed. Moreover, it may extend even beyond continents carried by the mechanisms and designed frames of different supranational organizations. Such mechanisms in contemporary IR can be considered the Shanghai Organization bearing in mind its members and observers. An even better example is BRICKS with its multi-continental members’ existence. In other words, determination through the self-other dichotomy is present at different micro and macro levels. A relevant example may be the Hungarian national determination towards the group of surrounding countries of “the Slavic sea” (Nyyssönen and Vares 2012, 15).

Iver Numan argues that the self-other nexus of Europe rests on the two Other’s as determination symbols. They are Turkey and Russia. The Turkey as the Other to Europe appears as a clear but also contested idea of the dichotomy. The contested Other is the fact that Ottoman Turkey existed in Europe for hundreds of years yet it was never recognized as a factor in the “balance of power” until “Treaty of Paris” in 1856. Contrastively, the religious segment of Turkish Islamic Otherness was clearer from the European perspective as well as the military (Neumann 1999, 40-49). Interestingly, Ottoman Turkey as the Other to Europe contained a segment of Carl Schmidt’s “enemy-friend” determination. Thereby, the Otherness did not prevent Europe from maintaining the commercial relationship with the Ottoman Empire (idem, 40 cf. Schmitt 1976, 27). As Neumann reasons, the modern-day Turkey’s otherness lost its intensity with the “Young Turks revolution, WWI defeat and their entry into NATO”. Nevertheless, Turkey’s EU protracted membership saga had an impact on its Otherness, which strengthened the

“Islamist” factor in Turkey (Neumann 1999, 61.) Finally, as Neumann proclaims, the Otherness is a perception of a viewpoint and hence determination as well. Therefore, Russian Europeanism is determined in reference to Turkey and Turkish towards Iran (idem, 61).

Russia as the European other is somewhat differently perceived in comparison to Turkey. The religious other of Russia did not carry such a strong identification of otherness as Turkey. The Russian Christianity influenced perceptions on Russia: at least in certain periods of Russian European home (idem, 67 cf. idem 75). This perception was relative and unstable in particular in light of the Turkish influence as the second Other to Europe. Moreover, the pillars of such division were intensified by fall of Constantinople whereby the Europe perceived itself as the Self: including Russia (idem, 44). Equally, in certain periods the Roman pope viewed Russia and Europe as the Cristian “Us” against “Them” the Islam (idem, 72). As Neumann defines through historical narratives, a perception is a combination of “lack of scholarship” with “perceived barbarism and an Eastern threat at the door and “worries of the Russian expansion” (idem, 73). Moving through historical periods– in particular the Soviet Union and the Cold War– up to the present stage or perhaps start of a new Cold War, the perception of the threat from the East did not lose much of its impetus. This may appear as a harsh conclusion, yet in the post-Soviet Union period, European perceptions of the conflict in Chechenia and Ukraine may support this claim.

In relation to the self-other nexus, though the research topic of this thesis it is unavoidable to deal with the self-other in a political sense. One of the most noted scientist in this field of research is Carl Schmitt. In his definition of political, he refers to the “political actions” and “motives” concerning the self-other nexus as key elements to define the essence of politics. Moreover, as a “criterion” for political incentives, he defines a “thesis and anti-thesis” of the political through a reflection of the “friend-enemy” concept of a political dichotomy (Schmitt 1976, 26). Furthermore, as Schmitt argues the political “friend- enemy” relationship is the “utmost degree of association or disassociation” in the self-other dichotomy of the “political”. Additionally, he polarizes the pair and at the same time dissociates an extension towards the set of different representations that one of them may hold facing the other. In other words, a political enemy does not understand an automatic equalization of an enemy in other spheres: “morally evil, economical competitor and it may be economically advantageous to engage with him in economical transactions” (idem, 27). The self-other nexus notably rests on the notion of boundaries, territorial, special, consciousness and more. Hence, as later will be shown by work of Paasi Anssi author who problematizes those borders and offers a notion of political as the key. In the “socio-spatial” perception, he links “the territorial identities” to “social distinctions” (Paasi 1996, 14).

3.7. Ethnic and Language Minority

“Cultures designated as minorities have certain shared experiences by virtue of their similar antagonistic relationship to the dominant culture, which seeks to marginalize them all”

(Jan et al. 1990, 1)

The general notion of minority appears to contain determinants that may or may not place minority within a minor delimitation frame towards the majority. Moreover, the concepts of “coexistence” and “subordinancy” as key determinants of the minority essence. Furthermore, a minority group position towards a majority as “a culturally, ethnically, or racially distinct group” (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2015). The dividing lines in a socio-political sense of a majority-minority relationship is related to an access to the decision and policymaking processes or a lack of it. Considering the fact that the Russian language minority is at the forefront of this study, the definition of minority that appears suitable in this sense is one by Raymond Grew:

“To be considered a minority, the group must be both an integral element in the larger society and sufficiently outside its socio-political core to lack that access to status and power considered normal (even when in practice only dominant elites exercise that access)” (Grew 200, 3).

In order to understand term “ethnic minority”, it is necessary to define an ethnic group. Hence, drawing upon an anthropological observation point, Fredrik Barth lists several traits that define and delimit an ethnic group in relation to the others. They are

“... biologically self-perpetuating, shares fundamental cultural values makes up a field of communication and interaction and has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order” (Barth 1969, 10-11). A majority-minority relationship is historically circumstantial and of course, they differ from each other. Hence, as Fredrik Barth states in an inter-ethnic relationship there is a “special variant” of a relationship. Moreover, the incentive for a minority-majority relationship or “cultural differentiatiae” does not originate “from a local organizational context”. Instead, it is a synthesis of the “pre-established cultural contrast” as well as “social system” which stems “as a result of external historical events” (idem, 30). In light of the overview of the Russian language minority’s history, I would argue that this is a trait of the Russian language minority in Finland and hence the metropolitan area of Helsinki. Furthermore, I take into account all the aforementioned factors to embark upon the process of construction of a minority: by the minority as well as the majority, the Other.

As most notions are contested, the language minority and minorities, in general, are not an exception. Therefore, the relation between minority-majority always does not have to be as defined in the previous paragraph. One of the examples gives Tore Modeen’s narrative of the Swedish language in Finland.

Furthermore, he evokes a situation of the Russian annexation of Finland and the grant of the Grand Duchy status to Finland, which was in practice an effective autonomy within the empire. Moreover, upon the annexation in the first period, the Swedish language – the official language in Finland at the time – did not lose its use and strength but indeed it gained more strength (Modeen 1993, 251-252). It is equally important to repeat that all of the examples are historically circumstantial and language minorities share and differ in a number of traits. In order to summarize the definition of a language minority, the rationale of Jeffrey A. Ross may be used. Therefore, as he argues, the minorities' appearance, on a general note, is dated to "transitional periods, especially early phases of modernization" (Ross 1979, 7). Furthermore, as he elaborates, "the language for the communal group is an inseparable part of its society and culture". In addition, the specific relationship between the language majority and minority, Ross places in the context of control or a permission category. Hence, he defines:

"The language that a minority uses or is permitted to use depends upon the needs of the majority, not the wishes of the minority (ibid.).

Referring to Barth's social contact of cultural difference, the fine language as well as cultural delimitation line is present in the self-other nexus within one language. Thus, even when minority members use a majority language the distinction and dichotomy is visible: "vocabulary intonation and syntax" (Ross 1979, 7 cf. Barth 1969, 14-15). Finally, as Barth argues a narrow delimitation of an ethnic group manifest through "exhibiting the particular traits of the culture" (idem, 12). By isolation of one of those traits into sole delimitation line, in essence, define a language minority. Language minorities and minorities, in general, are immanent part of the process of social construction and hence constructivism as such. The Russian language minority is no exception to this process. Hence, in the process of social construction of minorities there are constructed divisions based on a number of lines as well as a number of levels. Thus, as Raymond Grew elaborates, the construction of minorities may rest on the "top-down" as well as, or "bottom-up" principle: the former related to governmental or state construction of divisive lines and the latter to a minority striving towards "social mobilization" (Grew 4, 2000).

In relation to the Russian language minority in Finland, I argue that there are several constructive divisive lines– among other– that are key in the delimitation of RLM and this study:

1. Top- bottom line. The Finnish Government made a distinction in the past between two groups: "Old Russians and New Russians" (Lähteenmäki and Pöyhönen 2015, 98 cf. Grew 2000, 2 cf. Scheppele 2000, 322). Another divisive line within old and new Russians may be that more "homogenised perceptions" of minority awake unsolicited historical fears (idem, 6 cf. idem 11).

2. Bottom-up line. The perceived lack of social mobility by members of RLM contributes to a social construction of the minority delimitation line as “self-identification” by minority members (idem, 2 cf. Scheppele 2000, 322).

3. History matters. Therefore, I argue that historical legacy may contribute to the RLM’ construction in a contemporary light of minority divisive line (Grew 4, 2000). Moreover, in the light of historical conditions the current RLM identity is influenced by the image of the Other and a certain national fear that Finnish people carry with the loss of large parts of their territory and consequentially numerous families having to be resettled. This divisive line is supported by the mythology line of Russians and the Other from the East (idem, 9).

4. Language lines. Language barriers influence political participation of many in RLM – especially senior citizens – and the dynamics of the Russian language’s progress. Hence, the increase of available materials of the political entrepreneurs in Finland may improve the dynamics of the RLM in political participation (Patten and Kymlicka 2003, 10).

Conversely, to erase divisive lines, the same social construction may work in different direction. As Grew advises, this represents the social process in which the divisive lines may lose their sharpness or disappear. Furthermore, as he argues the mutual exchange between the “majority” and “minority” results in “reciprocal change” of both: the majority and minority (Grew 2000, 13). Therefore, a new feeling of higher a level of unity appears in a social construction based on the same factors as in division lines, via a reversed process. Thus, having in mind the RLM position and background I argue that all of the aforementioned divisive lines to be overcome through a mutual change. This process is by no means short and may take decades.

3.8. Minorities and Human Rights

In the context of the notion of minorities, it is important to mention the framework of versatile rights. Those rights stand as a protection framework that stems from the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” which contains defined particularities as the minority’s specific prerogative. Furthermore, one of the most significant documents in that sense is the UN General Assembly’s “Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious or Language Minorities” on minority rights: henceforth “the Declaration”. Among the different types of recognised minorities in the document, language minorities are considered as such (UN General Assembly, 1993).

The “Declaration” emphasizes several minority rights and some more than others relate to this study. Therefore, the document stipulates the right of minorities on the preservation of language and identity and it demands from UN member states to accordingly ensure conditions for such a right (idem, article, 1. cf. idem, article 2.) Moreover, it requests from member states to ensure equality in versatile social and political participation and multi-level social mobility of minorities as well as the right to form “their own associations” (idem, article 2. cf. idem, article 4.). In summary, according to Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), a synthesis of “Declaration” and “minority experiences” summarises into following main minority rights:

1. “Survival and existence
2. Promotion and protection of the identity of minorities
3. Equality and non-discrimination
4. Effective and meaningful participation” (OHCHR 2010, 7-13).

Although the “Declaration” of the General Assembly of the UN is not binding for member states, many of the member states acknowledge its significance through its implementation. Moreover, “the Declaration” is mirrored in other similar documents delimited to specific organizations and spaces. One of them is Council of Europe’s “Framework Convention for Protection of National Minorities FCNM” (CoE, 1995). Similarly to the UN “Declaration”, the FCNM instructs “Parties” and “Signatories” (CoE, 2008) to facilitate ensuring of the several minority identities among which is also the language identity (idem, Section II article 5 cf. idem Section II article 6 cf. idem Section II article 17). Furthermore, the FCNM instructs states to ensure minority involvement in social and political life (idem, article 4). The “FCNM” has been adopted by 39 member states in the capacity of “Parties to Convention” and additional 4 states as signatories (CoE, 2008). Finland has adopted the FCPM on 03.10.1997 in the capacity of the party (CoE, 2008). Regarding the status of the Russian language and consequently the RLM, it is also necessary to view it through a European dimension. Hence, as Mika Lähteenmäki and Sari Pöyhönen analyse, the Council of Europe have adopted a number of documents that deal with minority languages in Europe. Moreover the two most significant are the “European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, ECRML” and the “FCPNM”; Finland also signed the former (Lähteenmäki and Pöyhönen 2015, 95). Furthermore, as Lähteenmäki and Pöyhönen report, ECRML offers the following formulation of the regional or minority languages:

“...traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants”(ibid.).

The cornerstone division of the minority languages as defined by ECRML is the division between “territorial” and “non-territorial” languages. Hence, a definition of non-territorial languages is understood as: “languages used by nationals of the State, which differ from the language, or languages used by the rest of the State's population but which, although traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof” (idem, 96). Since 1999, as reported by the Finnish government to the Council of Europe, the Russian language is placed in the category of a “none territorial language” (ibid.). There is an additional dimension, which defines the position the Russian language in Finland. This dimension rests within a triangle consisting of the Russian language minority, the Finnish Government and the Council of Europe. As Mika Lähteenmäki and Sari Pöyhönen argue, the perception and delimitation lines of the Russian language minority is problematized (Lähteenmäki & Pöyhönen 2015, 99). Furthermore, as they elaborate, on the one side there is a clear instruction, within FCPNM that advises the countries concerned in the “promotion of conditions” for national minority languages (idem, 98). Moreover, as the authors argue, due to the absence of a clear definition of the national minority the government of Finland, in a number of years, treats the issue of the Russian language and Russian language minority through a division line e.g. “Old Russians and New Russians” (idem, 98-101). In recent years – 2012– it was reported by CoE that the distinction between the “Old and New Russians” has disappeared from the reports of Finnish Governments (idem, 100). Finally, as Lähteenmäki & Pöyhönen the CoE’s report from 2012, portrays a view in which there are “permanent problems” in communication between the Government of Finland and the Russian language minority as well as in the implementation of the language rights in day-to-day use of the Russian language by the minority (idem, 98-101).

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

As outlined in the theoretical part of the thesis, constructivism places an emphasis on identities, the use of language, intersubjective meanings, interpretation and understanding of a researched phenomenon. As such, it draws upon several preferred methods and tools in data collection. As Mackenzie and Knipe argue, based on the work of several authors, the preferred methods of analysis in constructivism are mostly qualitative. Hence, the quantitative methods are utilized on a smaller scale (Mackenzie and Knipe 2006). Moreover, the range of tools for data collection varies and includes Interviews, Observations, Document reviews and Visual data analysis (*ibid.*). This study is based on the two types of interviews. The first type is semi-structured one-to-one interviews, conducted with three different expert professionals, dealing on a daily base with the RLM. The first interview was with Anneli Ojala, the Project Manager of the “Skilled project”. The project promotes an active citizenship concept and was financed by the Finnish government. Furthermore, the aim of the project was to provide versatile training for the Russian-speaking immigrants in an active participation in the Finnish society. Among the activities were a civil association management and participation skills. Secondly, I interviewed the coordinator of the cultural meeting centre. The centre hosts a number of cultural events mostly for the members of the RLM yet it is open for anyone interested. She expressed a wish to remain anonymous in the study so I have assigned her code name, Anastasia. Finally, I interviewed a Russian native speaker who was a political party activist in the metropolitan area. She equally preferred anonymity; therefore, her assigned name was Katarina. The one-to-one interviews were conducted in the period from 15.01.2015 to 06.02.2015. The second type were web-based interviews with the members of the RLM in the metropolitan area. They have based on the open-ended questionnaires. There were twenty-eight respondents. The online questionnaire for these interviews was active from 23.01.2015 to 15.02.2015.

Interviews were analysed by IDA and Textual Analysis. The one-to-one interviews were analysed with Textual Analysis, Legitimation and Lexical Analysis categories. The Legitimation provides an understanding of the justifications given by experts on political activity or inactivity of the RLM as well as their rationale behind the self-other influence from lexicalization analysis. These interviews are analysed and mutually compared as well as to web-based interviews. The web-based interviews are analysed in all defined IDA structures and the TA a focus on the traits of the Wendt’s “identity typology” with the focus on the “role identity”. The aim of such analysis is to derive versatile qualitative analysis in order to reveal the political activities of the RLM. Equally, it is to investigate the use of the self-other dichotomy and understand its relation to political activity or inactivity. Finally, the existing ideology is reconstructed.

4.2.Minority Organizations and Challenges of the Data Collection Process

The data collection process was a truly learning and experiential curve on the RLM in the metropolitan area. I cannot stress enough the challenges, problematic vicissitudes encountered during several attempts to arrange interviews and collect data. It was difficult so much so that my first contacts with the Russian community started in early April 2014 only to complete in February 2015. The crisis in the Ukraine made the data collection process next to impossible and I faced more rejections and walls of silences than I would like to remember. At some stage, I even considered to stop all data collection efforts, as it felt deeply frustrating and disappointing.

In October 2014, I contacted all Russian-speaking associations that I could track down on the internet from an umbrella association – FARO– list: 17 associations. Along with a brief explanation of my study, I asked them to distribute the link containing the questionnaire to their members. I received only one answer from a spokesperson for the wrestling association (SAMBO 2000). He stated that he could not speak on behalf of the members and that he would forward the request to its members. This has not resulted in any positive development. The only representative that was fully cooperative and I thank him for this was Stanislav Martinets. The executive Director of the Finnish Association of Russian-speaking societies FARO: “Финляндская Ассоциация Русскоязычных Обществ” (FARO I, s.a.). He pointed out that members of the RLM organizations prefer to keep themselves to themselves due to a sense of personal pride and fear of discrimination in Finnish society. He advised me to first contact Finnish organizations. Furthermore, he outlined the difficulties of learning of the Finnish language by the RLM population and hence the other circle of self-isolation occurs. Thus, two circles of isolation exist, one by Finnish society due to the closed image and second of the RLM of themselves in respect to the language barrier. According to him, the language barrier further leads to a lack of assimilation and integration by the RLM. Therefore, he explained that most of FARO’s and some other RLM associations work is based on the guidance of the minority members to services and institutions in Finnish society. Finally, he explained that the lack of political activity by minority members might be reflected in the lack of RLM volunteers in the association’s activities.

After FARO, I met several “representatives” and members of the RLM in order to dispatch the link for the web-based interviews. They promised to help and then stopped responding to my emails and agreed cooperation. However, in the introductory discussions, I have learned that there is some rivalry among Russian associations in the metropolitan area in competing for state funds. This perception reappeared during the one-to-one interview later on. In my approach, I have tried both the top down and bottom up

strategies. As I have partly described the top-down approach, the bottom-up approach was conducted through the RLM minority internet portals and different chat rooms. I have tried several times to post the link to my first questionnaire and it had only a few responses. Then my membership was cancelled without any explanation. Equally, I was offered no explanation upon my contact to portal administrator. My personal Russian student contacts wanted to help, however, that also proved futile. Moreover, after meeting with Mr. Martinets, I have sent an email to all political parties in the metropolitan area, inquiring on the numbers of their Russian background membership. I got only one answer, from the Social Democratic Party that they do have members from a Russian background but that they did not have such statistics. The breakthrough in data collection came after a discussion about my difficulties with Dr. Anni Kangas. Through a great deal of her and especially personal assistance from Anneli Ojala the Project Manager of the “Cultura Foundation” who utilized many of her professional contacts from RLM, I have managed to achieve the goal and collect the necessary data. At the end of this subchapter, I have to mention Dr. Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti from Helsinki University, who I also met in course of this research and who gave me useful guidelines and shared some of her experiences.

4.3. The Type, Role and Collective Identity

As Alexander Wendt argues, the base for all identity types is considered to be personal identity which is distinct and individual. Alternatively an entity from another and their properties; “the body” for individual or a territory for states” (Wendt 1995). Based on personal identity are the following three identity characteristics as defined by Wendt are a focus of this study.

The Type Identity

The type identity represents an identity category that appears as an umbrella notion for individuals sharing common traits or characteristics. Wendt formulates it further as traits, which range from “appearance, values, skills, and historical commonalities” to “place of birth, religion or language” (idem, 225-226). As such, primarily the Russian language and therefore culture as well as certain historical commonalities define the Russian language minority in a focus of this identity. The previously defined characteristics, taken together or individually do not provide sufficient grounds for establishing a “type identity”. Therefore, as Wendt argues, the distinctive characteristic of the type identity is that the aforementioned common traits are socially supported or framed via “formal membership rules” (idem, 226). With reference to the RLM, this fact is present through a membership in the versatile RLM’s organizations. Furthermore, Wendt clarifies that the social segment is defined through membership of the “social types” that directs the Other’s understanding of the type identity holder. In the case of the

Russian language minority, it is the Finnish authorities' idea or constructed perception of the RLM as a minority in Finland. Hence, they speak their native language whether it is given official language status or not. Lastly, to a degree, their place of birth also defines them as most are from Russia or at least connected to it in some way through the legacy of the ex-Soviet Union.

The Role Identity

Role identity is based on "the self-conceptions" or one's role in the social structure; father, mother, taxi driver and so on. Furthermore, it involves a segment of the Other. As Peggy Thoits argues, these identities are especially based on "an enduring, normative, reciprocal relationships with other people" (Thoits 1991, 103). Equally, Wendt argues that only the self cannot sustain role identities. Therefore, he elaborates that the function of the role identities is narrowed down exclusively towards the Other and its agency in that relationship. Hence, acting "through behavioural norms" the "Self" study the "Other" in an attempt to understand its actions and intentions (Wendt 1992, 405). During that process and based on the perceived reality, the Self establishes its "counter identity" or the role identity towards the Other. In the process of casting the role identity based on the "sharing of expectations", the Self is part of a process in which it receives its social identity. A process in which the Other's perception of the Self is an equally important factor. Therefore, "through the Other's eyes" the Self embraces some of the Other's encompassing perceptions and the interplay result is the Social identity (Wendt 1999, 227). However, as Wendt highlighted earlier, role identities as a product of "behavioural norms towards the Other" or intersubjective understanding, causally form counter identities (Wendt 1992, 406). Furthermore, their applicability is versatile in both, micro as well as macro social structures (Wendt 1999, 227). Thus, in that sense, his following definition can also be observed

"The daily life of International politics is an on-going process of states taking identities in relation to others, casting them into corresponding counter-identities and playing out result" (idem, 21).

In light of the self-other understanding and in the scope of the role identity, Wendt clarifies that many of the roles exist or are "institutionalized" before actual agents interaction commence (idem, 227). Therefore, as both agents accept them, those roles exist continuously until the need for their redefinition arises. As previously observed, the self-other relationship inevitably involves a segment of "shared ideas" in defining the roles of the Self and the Other. Hence, accepting or discarding a role is not placed solely on the Self but the Other equally (Wendt 1992, 406). Therefore, in an effective role discard it is required the existence of certain mutual agreements of the Self and the Other. The aforementioned constitution of roles is valid for the stable roles surrounding. There is an interesting occurrence once the self wants to change identity. Hence, it influences the Other and its position in the identity change. As

Wendt elaborates, the reason for role change lies with two rationales. The first is that a new social surrounding requires adequate role as a response to it and the second is that the loss in the process does not overtop the foreseen benefits (Wendt 1992, 419). Here, Wendt offers a closer insight through an Alter and Ego interaction. A technique that leads to the changing of the identity and consequently a role of the self. The mechanism for such transformation is called the “altercasting”. The “altercasting” is understood to be the change of the Other’s understanding of the social surrounding through specific tactics and the self’s presentation and mutual learning process (Wendt 1992, 421 cf. Wendt 1999, 330).

The Collective Identity

Alberto Melucci offers a formulation of the collective identity through a notion of the “interactive and shared definition”. He emphasizes constructivist perception on a notion of the collective action, nature of the collective identity as well as an interactivity and action of the process by a number of individuals or groups. Furthermore, Melucci clarifies that interactivity and action of the process. The process’ nature of the collective identity is determined by a “constructed and negotiated through the repeated activation of the relationships that link individuals (or groups)” (Melucci 2003, 43-44). Wendt emphasizes a core for collective identity to be the unity between the Self and the Other or absence of the delimitation line, which reappears again in the new identity. Therefore, he defines the characteristic of the collective identity as the recognition of the unity of the Self and the Other. He further states that the cognitive nature and immense power of the process in which the actors identify as one influences the distinction between the Self and the Other. The new value or the idea of the new unifying identity which appears as “the socially constituted me” start to exist beyond fragmentation in identities as the result of their fusion. In terms of political surroundings, the collective identity may appear in a marriage of two political options whereby they continue to exist within one new social identity. Therefore, the Self-regards the Other as creating a new identity (Wendt 1999, 229).

The traits of the afore-defined identities are situated within the frame of previously defined IDA and TA. Moreover, based on the already defined data and methodology, the identities analysis will focus to a connection between their defined traits and identification and influence of the Other. By such analysis, the three identities focus – in particularly the role identity – will portray the fully developed self/other dichotomy related to the Russian language minority in the Helsinki metropolitan area. In other words, such analysis will define the perception of the RLM to the Other and its influence to their political activities.

4.4. Interview Methodology

4.4.1. One to One Interview Methodology and Questionnaire Design

An interview is a data collection method which is recommended for studies that go further in a depth of understanding and strive to reveal personal “opinions, feelings, emotions and experiences” (Denscombe 2007, 174). Earl Babbie defines a distinction between the Social Sciences utilized interview and the others in a way that the former has to review social world in correspondence to the theoretical foundations (Babbie 2011, 314). As Silverman advises, interviews are a time and cost-efficient data collection method (Silverman 2006, 113). The selected interview in this study is the semi-structured interview. Moreover, a semi-structured interview covers questions and areas of the discussion designed by the interviewer, yet it allows the interviewee to express their ideas in the broad sense without limitations (Denscombe 2007, 176). Equally, semi-structured interviews demand from the interviewer to explain the aim of the research project to the interviewee (Silverman 2006, 110).

In relation to the questionnaire design of the one to one, semi-structured interviews, I have tried to follow up the same guidelines as in the online web questionnaire: with few differences. First, I have tried to move and keep the questions from the list from simpler and general towards questions that are more serious. As Brooke Ackerly and Jackie Tue advised, my idea was based on “short less pointed questions or “warm up questions” and left the most serious ones for the moment when the interviewee would be most relaxed (Ackerly and True 2010, 168-169)). This was a challenge in a way as I had very limited time in two interviews and, therefore, the warm up was not as long as initially planned. One interview was shortened in half by the interviewee during the interview itself. Secondly, all unclear questions were clarified to the interviewees upon their request. Thirdly, I have tried to stay as neutral as possible during the interview process (Babbie, 310). Four, I have tried to keep the question commonness and discussion flow among interviewers although they did not share all the questions together. In this way as Brooke Ackerly advises I have tried to create an “ongoing dialogue” as well as question comparability (Ackerly 2008, 36). Furthermore, having in mind the nature of the semi-structure interview, the newly raised questions were based on the presented ideas and opinions of the interviewees during the interview (Denscombe 2007, 176). Equally, as Silverman advises the “flexible and open-ended questions” were utilized in order to harvest the most relevant opinions and statements. Referring to Silverman on interview style “no interview style is the best”, hence I have chosen the active approach in order to enhance speaker’s utterance and contemplations (Silverman 2006, 112-114). Finally, the one to one interview transcripts were transcribed from a two audio copies for each interview in accordance to the technique described by David Silverman (Silverman 1993, 116-120).

Again, it cannot be stressed enough the problems encountered in identifying interviewees. In the context of the Ukrainian crisis, the contacts were almost impossible to reach. Hence, the utilized technique was “snowball sampling” and devised several data collection strategies. Through the “snowball sampling”, an incentive for interviews was spread out through all of the social contacts, asking and hoping that they will further utilize their contacts (Denscombe 2007, 208). Despite my caution, it has proven to be more difficult task than I expected. The “snowball sampling” led me to the particular three expert professionals that were emblematic of my initial interview plans. The professional perception point yields substantial long-term and continuous minority observation experience. (Babbie 273-274). The methodological idea behind these interviews is by using the same technique of analysis – through discourse as connecting bond – to compare the data received from experts with the data from general Russian language minority population. In this way, it is possible to establish an increase in the credibility of the factual situation in an analysis. All interviews were conducted in the working surrounding of interviewees in order to ensure the highest level of comfort for the interviewees. One interviewee was an exception to this practice and the interview was held in a non-working surrounding, as proposed by her.

4.4.2. Web-based Interviews and Questionnaire Design

The main part in the analysis of the views and ideas of the Russian language minority of the Helsinki metropolitan area was the feedback from interview data. As I have already mentioned, the difficulties in identifying and securing interviewees, enhanced by the crisis in Ukraine I decided to use a web-based open-ended interview in the form of a questionnaire. For this purpose, I used the “E-lomake” online format, available to students at the University of Tampere. The form had an open-ended format of answers.

Referring to questionnaire design, several issues were of concern. Firstly, the size of the questionnaire was of significance to prevent respondents’ discouragement as advised by Martin Denscombe (Denscombe 2007, 161). Secondly, having in mind the sensitivity of the subject, I designed the questionnaire to be anonymous for the respondents. Therefore, no names or surnames were required. Moreover, as advised by Earl Babbie and Martin Denscombe, in order to protect the identity I created questions in three language forms and offered the same possibility for response: in Russian, Finnish and English. Thirdly, I focused on the issue of the wording of the questions, order of the questions and type of questions: the latter two in order to prevent discouragement of the respondents as well as the biased terms and later to focus on the qualitative form of questions enabling respondents’ unrestricted answers

(Babbie 2011, 276 cf. Denscombe 2007, 163-166). Finally, I separated areas within the metropolitan area of Helsinki and the rest of Finland in order to create a clearer picture of responses.

The delimitation criterion for the interviewees was as follows:

1. The Russian language as native language
2. Age between 18 and 80
3. Priority was given to Helsinki metropolitan area although rest of Finland was left as an option for possible external respondents who still wanted to leave their opinion. This option preserved answers of interested respondents from areas of Finland in order not to lose valuable material.

All questions were tested prior to public release in order to establish whether they were sound and understandable. Furthermore, questionnaire distribution was conducted through various avenues. First, it was dispatched through the Alexanteri Institute e-mail list. Secondly, the Cultura Foundation published it on their website for possible respondents: for which I am very grateful. I also need to especially emphasize the effort of Anneli Ojala who herself sent the questionnaire link to over thirty private contacts. In relation to the time-frame, the questionnaire was active from 23.01.2015 to 15.02.2015. The response rate was good and I received forty and four responses from all parts of Finland. Out of those, the twenty-eight were usable and related to the Helsinki metropolitan area. To my surprise, I even got a phone call from one of the respondents from Jyväskylä inquiring about the research. We spoke in Russian and Finnish and she expressed her satisfaction and promised to share the questionnaire with her contacts. The number of responses from the metropolitan area was twenty-nine, out of which twenty-eight was suitable for analysis.

4.4.3. Research Ethics and Translation issues

All interviewees agreed to an interview and interview recordings (Babbie 2011, 275). Furthermore, through the Feminist reflection methodology, the interviewees all agreed that the data collected in all interviews (both before and after the one to one interviews) could be used in compiling this master's thesis (Ackerly 2008, 36 cf. Descombe 2007, 173). Equally, I inquired with the interviewees who took part in the postal interview on whether they have been influenced by my interviewing in any way. All of them confirmed that they had not been coerced in any way during the process. During the whole process, I made it clear to all those taking part that their identities would remain anonymous and data confidentiality was of the utmost importance. Therefore, as the coordinator of the cultural expressed a wish to remain anonymous her real identity was assigned with code name Anastasia. Equally, the Russian native speaker and a political party activist equally preferred anonymity. Hence, her assigned

name is Katarina. Moreover, upon her request, the name of Katarina's political party does not appear in the study. Regarding the researcher reflection and influence process on the interviews, I ensured that I had as little impact as possible. Hence, after the interviews were completed, I contacted all of the interviewees to ask whether they felt that they had been influenced in any way in my interview techniques. (idem, 185). The names of two experts who requested to stay anonymous were coded. Furthermore, together with the interviews recorded files and the transcripts were stored in a coded USB. As the web-based interviews were anonymous, there was no need for additional identity protection. Nevertheless, I assigned names to all respondents in order to distinguish possible overlapping and confusion of the respondent's identical details. Native speakers translated all questions in the questionnaires related to the Russian and Finnish language. Furthermore, the questions in Russian and Finnish were discussed with native speakers in order to ensure that there were no misunderstandings in relation to language and cultural issues. For the Russian translations and discussions, I have to thank my Russian student colleagues from St. Petersburg and Petrozavodsk University. Last but not least, my gratitude goes my wife for the Finnish contribution.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter contains three types of analysis. Firstly, the findings collected from the three “one to one” expert professionals interviews with the aforementioned respective experts. They are, as such, professionally involved in the lives of the Russian language minority in the metropolitan area. Moreover, their expert-professional opinions reflect the experientially based opinions of the Russian language minority. These opinions, via interviews, are presented in the categories of legitimation and lexical analysis. Equally, they are cross-referenced with an analysis conducted in the web-based interviews with the general RLM population. Secondly, through analysis of the twenty-eight web-based interviews, it is possible to obtain a direct conclusion on legitimation, lexicalization as well as the other previously defined categories of the Ideological Discourse Analysis. Moreover, the underlying main discourses negotiated from the analysed data are contained in the following chapter that completes the analysis circle. It is in that chapter that the qualitative analysis starts to present a clearer picture. Thirdly, the data from the “one to one” interviews as well as the web-based interviews is checked for a connection to the type, role and collective identities and identification of influence of the Other. In particular, the determinants related to all aforementioned categories of analysis will compose a comprehensive picture of the self-other dichotomy related to the Russian language minority in Helsinki metropolitan area. In other words, the perception of the Other by the Russian language minority. Finally, the web-based interviews statistic is available in Annexes I and II. The details of one-to-one interviews questions are available in Annex III, IV and V of the study. Equally, Annex VI contains introductory message and Annex VII contains the questions for the web-based interviews.

5.2. Description of the One to One Interviews

Legitimation

In one-to-one interviews with experts, the rationalizations that stem were limited to three. Therefore, most of them were based on either rationalization or moral evaluation: as well as combined at the same time. Notably, a number of references to tradition and hence legitimation by authorization were recorded. Thus, for example, in reference to rationalization, Anneli Ojala defines a term of active citizenship as a connection to institutions of the system and systematic action. Anastasia was not able to elaborate on the term of active citizenship with the explanation that of lack of knowledge on the subject. On the other hand, Katarina offered rationalization as legitimization in reference to a system and institutions as a perception of the “active citizenship” Equally, the moral evaluation was included in those opinion legitimations. Moreover, she emphasizes a component of Russian background and an identity as a significant part of the term’s definition. Furthermore, the highlighted important issue was immigration

and the Russians minority role in it. The integration appears as a dimension of Finnish society's institutional problem. Finally, the multiculturalism highlights other moral legitimization values:

"Person is interested in the life in the society, knows the system, knows about the legislation, knows about the voting, knows about the parliament, and knows about the system in the municipality, who is deciding about the things and how citizens can influence on decision making. These are the main things. What is the role of the citizen when we are deciding about our common matters? But they would understand what are the political parties, what is political decision making, not only that politics is something bad and dirty and we are not interested" (Anneli Ojala).

"For me it is very important first of all to become active citizen, not in official meaning like "I am good tax payer" and I listen to the all political stuff and I, not like that. For me for example it was very important, to first of all become the member of this society in the sense that I act and influence and people are interested in what I have to say because my background was, I just come from another interview where I had talk with Russian speaking magazine who interviewed with me and we talked about this issue of problem of immigrants that I have also, even though I was child and we moved, kind of I carried it on my shoulders this stuff of my parents. The problem of integration and becoming a member of the society, because Russian speakers and all immigrants have this problem, even youth. ...to start feeling myself as a member of the Finnish society with all this multicultural different backgrounds. So the basic thing if for the youth to find the balance in their identities" (Katarina).

On the issue of the perception of interest in politics of the Russian language minority, the interviewed experts gave several highlights and legitimizations. Hence, Anneli Ojala again offered rationalization as well as authorization grounds for legitimization. These legitimations are manifested in a lack of knowledge about the Russian-speaking minority of Finland's state system's and institutions as well as related institutional procedures. She argued it on the base of differences in systems and levels of governance; Finland compared to the governance tradition of ex-Soviet space. Therefore, the functional role of municipalities in a state system poses a huge puzzle for immigrants from a Russian-speaking background. Moreover, she defines a different understanding of the rights in a social system as well as of practices manifest in communication between a Finnish lecturer and the Russian language minority members. The legitimization that arises is the reference to the moral evaluation of minority members:

"...And here especially in Finland, municipalities play great role. They decide about finances, schools and such health care matters and their own matters, each municipality make their own decision, of course according to the laws. But this was something new for many immigrants. They don't know because in their country that system has been different and that municipalities have so much independence".

"It was rather interesting that the Finnish teacher was very brave because she was telling about the active citizenship, about demonstrations and such things that are quite common here that people gather together and they go against something if they are against something and this kind of freedom of telling their opinions. And also this was little bit critical question, off course. Some elderly people they were very surprised to hear and think said, "Do you think that we should go to demonstrate against something?"(Anneli Ojala).

As Ojala reported, an institutional interest of the Other – local authorities of Vantaa city, with largest Russian population in the metropolitan area– towards the support of this project was continuous and transparent. Equally, she argued that the local authorities have recognized a benefit that this project yields towards improved local polity in Vantaa via raised profile of this minority.

The perception of the role of the Other, may be illustrated via a political inquiry of the Russian-speaking immigrants on the political party system of Finland. Although the knowledge in the differentiation of Finnish political parties programme were missing, the immigrants inquired mostly on “Perussuomalaiset” or the “Finns Party” as it is known in English. This bases their legitimation on the moral evaluation of the importance and perception of Finnish parties on their social and political status as migrants to Finland.

“From the beginning of the project they let us know that they are very interested in this because they told us that so far they don’t even know much about Russian speakers in Vantaa and they would like to know about them more. And that they would like to increase their activities of Russian speakers living in Vantaa. And then from the department of the city, dealing with the questions of multicultural issues contacted us, I had contacted them first and then they have contacted me and they have even mentioned our project in programme for multicultural politics of the city of Vantaa, I can later show you this issue “...and what they have told us is that in everyday life they do not see the Russians. They are somehow hidden somewhere And they would like to make them more visible.”

“Maybe the nowadays I think that they did not made many differences between the political parties. I have to say that for them and nowadays for us Finns, also the parties seem to have rather similar programmes. And they pay attention and they have heard and read about “Perussuomalaiset” or the Basic Finns or however it is, the True Finns is translated, to their politics, mainly. But nothing so much about other parties, about the coalition center party or Social Democrats or whatsoever, they seems to, at least I think so that they experienced that it seem to be much alike” (Anneli Ojala).

Anastasia explained that in managing the centre’s policy, activists intend to disassociate themselves from the lectures on politics as well as related social activities and information. Moreover, legitimisation is grounded as a rationale in visitor’s lack of interest for such activities. Contrary to that, they have a vivid interest in cultural and historic issues. Therefore, her legitimization base can be considered under the rationalization as she referred individual’s ability to access information on politics through the internet and hence use the knowledge that “society has constructed to endow them” (Fairclough 2003, 98). Contrastively to Anastasia, Katarina focused and elaborated on passivity as a condition, which frames the spirit of the Russian language minority and respective legitimation backdrop. It rests in the field of both authorization as well as moral evaluation. The reference to the Soviet Union practices presents the aforementioned passivity in the light of inherited tradition and thus a legitimation through authorization. Furthermore, the moral evaluation is presented in a value dimension of dissatisfaction with the previous political and social participation as well as unwillingness to further involve in Finnish social and political life. Equally under moral legitimation may be placed an assessment on the length of the trust building

process with the RLM. In addition, she assessed RLM's interest in politics to be in favour of foreign politics topics compared to domestic issues in Finland. This assessment as legitimation via moral evaluation extends into an idea of a decreased language minority understanding of developments on the political scene in Finland.

"... and everyone of course has their own interest in life and not really on politics or anything like that. Maybe just you know, have tried already here information events like about things happening in Helsinki. It was a before I was working here but I had that image that it was not that you know people have internet, if you really want to know something it is easy to find"(Anastasia).

"So like this passiveness comes probably from the background of the Soviet Union, like many people I have heard saying: "We have had enough of politics in our Soviet lives", which kind of politics was given from the up and you even needed to vote for certain people and they were kind of said that you need to go to this and there were no options". And all this made them kind all full of that and they say we don't want to get involved in Finland. And it is kind of very strange that people do not understand that they are minority here and so of course they have their voice and their representatives in the politics. Because if they have some problems and they do of course we need some people with which their build theirs and of course they need their representatives in the politics to build their own opinion and to be somehow participating". Even these active among Russian speakers say to me it is good that you are active, be patient, you have to build your career when you communicate with Russian speakers like gradually. It takes time ".

"...Well these small obstacles the biggest ones are that people are not oriented. It is very small Russian speaking minority who think of the political issues. And, they can't be, they can be interested in the foreign politics and for example the Russian issues more but few are interested in the Finnish society and few understand and kind of follow political situation" (Katarina).

Discussing the Finnish political scene and a perception of the politicians in Finland, Katarina based her legitimatization on the rationalization and moral evaluation: former on perceived lack of institutional competence on multiculturalism and integration and later based on the value perception of the employment situation of the minority. Equally, the noticeable is the change of the first plural case to noun people. Regarding the view of a perception on the engagement of the RLM's representatives, the Katarina gave a legitimation based on the moral evaluation. Equally, the reference of authorization is present in a formulation of "voice of future" which bases on an individual. Furthermore, the perception of the role identity is characterized in the moral evaluation referring to "the Finnish side" and voting process. Finally, a legitimatization through rationalization defines the importance of the minority representative in the political representation system and thus highlights an institutional procedure.

"...but something that worried me. And when I listen to the politicians I noticed that they do not understand this problem, they can not even talk about it. Because they do not know the problem [...] And it is also connected to the issues of the multicultural, because I am also myself coming from the immigrant background. I was also worried how immigrant youth is growing here and all the problems and all the troubles with them but also with the natives. And I also noticed that politics lack multicultural competence. There is no know how about it, very general. Even political parties can not sometimes separate the migration policy, policies and policy of integration which are not the same."

“She is obviously interested in me seeing as future voice for the Russian speaking. She has been frustrated in many efforts to the Russian speaking have tried, have made in older than me. She has seen that it is very cosmetic, they come and go, they don’t. So she has said that she sees in me like person who does it on the long term basis, who believes in herself that is making a career here. And it is long term and permanent and I also do not hide my Russian speaking background which somebody do. Because they are afraid that they will not get the voices from the Finnish side. What is important for her is that we will have the representative of the Russian speaking minority in politics and that is important for the minority” (Katarina).

On the account of the nexus between the Russian organizations and their membership, the interviewees gave legitimations based on versatile grounds. Moreover, the Katarina gave an opinion of a broken link and consequently a minority misrepresentation on the basis of a moral evaluation. Hence, on one level it rests on a different aims and goals of the passive minority population and active isolated NGO activists. On the other level, it is again the legitimation through moral evaluation on perceived rivalry among RLM organizations. As Anneli Ojala avows an absence of interest to participate in organization management training on the part of some older Russian organizations it illuminates a moral evaluation. In addition, it is present a dimension of rationalization legitimation based on which they have refused to acknowledge the benefit on the skills gained through the institutionalized action or training. Contrary to the lack of interest of the older RLM organizations, Ojala explained that organizations interested in cooperation have legitimized their cooperation through an interest in a capacity building and networking. These are characteristics of an institutional procedures and legitimation based on the rationalization. Anastasia offered a reason for interest in cooperation of members of the Russian-speaking minority in networking and education as well as learning of the Other through live encounters with the Other. This belongs to rationalization and moral evaluation legitimation: participation in an institutionalized procedure in former and decision based on personal values in later.

“Oh yeah, I think there is. I think there is. Because there are people who are not active in NGOs in organizations and there are then people who are pursue some goals and personal careers and they want to be active. There are kind of different kind of. Like the ordinary people and then these. I think I hear many types. Well, the problem is all these organizations and they are kind of in the conflict with each other, not all but it is very common that they are in the conflict with each other. They are kind of competing for the money; because of course the money is not so well available. There are really situations where some organizations are getting financiation and other does not get and they even start to think because the source was the same the other organizations start to think that we did not get the financiation because all the money went to these another. So. It is kind of ridiculous. So I think that the gap is, there is a gap yeah” (Katarina).

“Joo, there was some difference. Some old organizations were not interested. They told that we already know everything; we don’t need this information. Although we thought that especially they would have needed this information a lot to renew their and to get more contacts among those more new immigrants. I think that would have been great opportunity for old organizations to get more members and some kind of refreshment for their work renewal of their activity. But there are some, couple of those told us directly, briefly that we are not interested in this project. OK?”. “...because they wanted to make their work more effective. To, in financial viewpoint. To know about aaa benefits that society can give them,

about different financial channels. Hm, and also they wanted to find more contacts. To get to know about Russian speakers in Finland in general” (Anneli Ojala).

“To experience something new as well as to communicate with their Russian speaking and maybe to meet some for example Finnish speaking people or let’s say other languages, you know to meet and best word for that would be “kohtaminen” its like meeting and sharing”(Anastasia).

Katarina described the motive for the cooperation of one of her contacts in dissatisfaction with lack of continuity in representation by a number of predecessors in a function of minority political entrepreneurs. Additionally, an identity factor was emphasized in reference to the Russian background. This is again a case of rationalization and moral evaluation. Furthermore, rationalization is represented in the desire for minority presence in the institutions and bodies of the parliament. Anastasia legitimized the limited isolation of the Russian language from other parts of society through the “language bubble” metaphor. That is legitimation via moral evaluation by evaluation the purpose of their activities. Furthermore, the improvement of such a position is legitimized by a legitimation via rationalization, which refers to an institutionalized social activity of connections design with the Finnish speaking organizations.

“She has seen that it is very cosmetic, they come and go, they don’t. So she has said that she sees in me like person who does it on the long term basis, who believes in herself that is making a career here. And it is long term and permanent and I also do not hide my Russian speaking background which somebody do. Because they are afraid that they will not get the voices from the Finnish side. What is important for her is that we will have the representative of the Russian-speaking minority in politics and that is important for the minority. And actually that is close for many other people who were interested in me as well. The main motive is that Russian-speaking minority would have their representative in the parliament” (Katarina).

“That is interesting for me to say, I am really not sure. I think they are doing, they are in society of course but in the way they have also this language bubble because they try to keep up with Russian language which is their point of doing and. So, maybe in some way maybe they can be more in context with some different Finnish organizations but in other hand they actually are. So I am not, I do not know really from inside how much do they do you know but I guess they do. Of course they are here and of course they are going with the flow and in this society. I would not say that they are closed to Finnish society, they are quite open. But they are doing what they are doing probably for the Russian speaking mostly not for Finnish speaking, so yeah” (Katarina).

Referring to the relationship between the Russian language organizations and political parties, Katarina offered an interesting observation. Hence, as she argues through the experience, the organizations, which refused cooperation, legitimize it by the “fear of labelling” rationale. Therefore, this stands in complete synergy with the legitimation idea previously stated by Anastasia: the moral evaluation. Equally, the idea of political freedom and independence or in other words, a reluctance to be “labelled “was confirmed by Anastasia. The basis is the same again: the moral evaluation.

“Oh, responding and not responding. Ok, let’s see, out of my maybe fifty five to sixty percent positive. Fifty five to sixty and then the rest forty said that they cannot cooperate. And the situation is because

they feel they are organization NGO which cannot be connected in any political. So if they start cooperating with me they will become this "leimautua" you know in Finnish, being marked like they are supporting certain party. This is why their image would be that they are supporting certain party. Because I am in certain party so forty percent is afraid of this issue" (Katarina).

"... and really don't want to be seen as field of this or that or the other political arena. I would like to see (name of the centre) as really independent you know open place of course but not so much for political place" (Anastasia).

In her opinion of the political party system in Finland, Katarina highlighted their competence limitations in tackling integration problems and processes of the cultural dialog. It is a case of moral evaluation as well as rationalization as it refers to the institutional capacity of the parties. Moreover, there is a moral evaluation in an assessment of the age group of politically active members of the minority. Moreover, speaking on the subject of the openness of the political system for minority participation, Katarina gave the rationale in form of the moral evaluation. Furthermore, as she argues, a moral base of this legitimization rests on absence of political interest in RLM. Hence, she singles out this rationale as sole minority's internal obstacle, towards the political development of the RLM. Consequently, she founded no formal or informal political system obstacles.

"...Even political parties cannot sometimes separate the migration policy, policies and policy of integration which are not the same". "...Those who are more fifty are definitely more interested. Because at that age they understand that, they can affect the society. They understand the meaning of the voice given in the elections".

"I try to think on the an important obstacle is that person him or herself, is not aware or integrated in the society so much that would be interesting or he or she simply does not have political ambitions. Because, I have not found, I have not met people in Russian speaking minority who would have political ambitions but they cannot manage somehow to progress with that. I simply meet people who are not interested in politics and therefore they are not pursue it" (Katarina).

Conversely, to the afore-defined political possibilities, Katarina's social perception of the Self and the Other in the economic segment is different. Moreover, the lack of social mobility in the economic sphere therefore easily proliferate in connection to versatile and often not visibly connected integration problems. Such problems are a perception of people of the foreign origin, employment discrimination, and perceived denial of academic qualifications in the Finnish system as well as other issues. Hence, *"many layers to the problems"* are portrayed through the moral evaluation. Finally, similarly to Katarina, Anneli Ojala made such legitimization rationalization in reference to a need for increased employment of the immigrants with university education.

"...But of course all of the researches in the society show that if you have a different surname, no matter what is the surname you have a twice difficulty to get employed . Even if your language was good. There are so many layers to the problems" (Katarina).

"Almost everybody has an higher education and profession which they can not use here in Finland in many cases which is a great pity. And once again it shows that something should be done with our system how to give possibilities for this people to work" (Anneli Ojala).

Lexicalization

The lexicalization analysis shows several significant meanings and contrasting linked adjectives in relation to the Other. It in majority came from the interview with Katarina. She described a personal existence in relation to her Russian background as *“stuff of my parents that I have also carried on my shoulders”*. Therefore as Katarina described, the Russian minority perception of their own culture she used the adjective *“cosy”*. Furthermore there is a connection between the description of the *“cosy feeling”* and *“own cultural space”* with a contrastive assessment in the form of an adjective and adverb *“very costly”* in relation to a risk of failure to integrate. There is another interesting lexical formulation with an adjective, *“Finnish life in the society”*. Furthermore, she connected an absence of a lack interest in politics with an adjective and noun of *“marginal life”*. Equally, there is a clear connection between a person with a *“cultural background”* and a *“multicultural background as well as a role of “social influencer”*. There are two different prepositions used with reference to integration: *“grew roots in the Finnish society”* and *“to grow into the society”*. Finally the connection between an adjective *“multicultural backgrounds”* and *“feeling of being a member”* of *“Finnish society”*. The played result is the formulation of *“balance in their identities”*. In relation to the assessment of institutional influence, on the previous minority representative, an adjective *“cosmetic efforts”* formulated a perception of the issue. Furthermore, notable is Katarina’s use of a verb *“to hide”* in connection to Russian background as well as being afraid and votes from Finnish side.

5.3. Analysis of One-to-One Interviews

The interviews have portrayed a complex image on several issues as seen by experts pertaining to a perception of the Self and the Other of the Russian language minority. Hence, on the issue of a concept of an active citizenship, both Anneli Ojala and a political candidate highlighted the practical side to institutionalized action, focused towards a broader scale of education about the state administrative and political systems of Finland. Equally, in their expert opinion they both highlighted a need for higher social mobility of the migrants and minorities in Finland’s social and political system. Furthermore, they shared an understanding of perceptions and practices inherited from the ex-Soviet system. Thus, as such social perceptions and practices promote political passivity on the grass-roots level, they in an equal manner represent the causal factor of the passivity of the Russian language minority. However, a difference in opinions occurred in more narrowed arguments within the cause of political and social passivity. Therefore, on the one hand, Anneli Ojala states that an obstacle for migrants was an absence of a comprehensive understanding activities scope of the local authorities’ in Finnish municipalities and the authority and powers they possess. This is in stark contrast to the different roles and authorizations

of the local level authorities in the ex-Soviet space. Equally misunderstood among some of the Russian language immigrant population were the position of the citizens and the mechanisms of action within the political and social system. As an example it may be mentioned the lecture concerning the right to protest– despite a somewhat humoristic tone in this example. Katarina perceived a slightly different cause of political activity traits. As she argues, the reason stems from disassociation from an imposed top-bottom model of political and social activity, which minority members experienced in the ex-Soviet Union space. In addition to this assessment, a significant rationale she defined a lack of vision of a status of the Russian language minority in Finland compared to the other present. The latter comparison is equally significant as it defines the broader scale of minority political and social passivity problem that extends beyond the “self–other” dichotomy frame. It is significant in appearance even within the boundaries of the minority landscape in the metropolitan area.

“We have had enough of politics in our Soviet lives which kind of politics was given from the up and you even needed to vote for certain people and they were kind of said that you need to go to this and there were no options”. And all this made them kind all full of that and they say we don’t want to get involved in Finland”(Katarina).

In line with the identity dimension of active citizenship, Katarina, as a political activist emphasized the issue of her Russian background. Moreover, she defined it as something she carried on her shoulders. This poses an idea of a burden that may be perceived as shared from the perception of the Other (the Finnish majority) in a social structure. Furthermore, the perceived polarisation between the Self and the Other, appear on several lexicalizations and style analysis levels which can advance the scope of understanding within this inquiry. Hence, while Russian culture is perceived as a *“cosy feeling and a preservation of their own cultural space”*, the failure to integrate is valued in perception as *“very costly”*. However, *“Finnish life in society”* as well as prepositions *“growing roots in society”* and *“to grow to society”*, portray the self-other perceived or constructed polarization of the RLM’s existence in *“Finnish society”*. Finally, the multicultural social influencers are described as a bridge towards increased participation of the minority and therefore politically.

The image of the political parties in Finland defines part of the role identity within the described perception of the Self and the Other. As Anneli Ojala observed the immigrants’ knowledge of the party system in Finland was not overall comprehensive. However, during the “Skilled project” lectures, participants interest was related to the “Finn party” or “Perussuomalaiset” and their programme. This interest may be related to the views presented in the Finn’s party policy on immigration process to Finland:

“...This movement can be said to have started with the transfer of Somali students from the defunct Soviet Union to Finland in the early 1990’s. It can still be possible to avoid the immigration disasters of Sweden, France and the United Kingdom but it will require a determined policy and clear legislation. Up until now, Finland’s policy in these matters has been raising hands in frustration and “hoping for the best.” This method must stop – and quickly! Migrant populations have grown quickly in Finland – and the increase has been faster than in other west European countries. Moreover, it is concentrating in several of the largest cities” (The Finns Party s.a.).

In light of a political existence and perception of the Self and the Other, the political parties represent one of the core institutions towards which this perception stands. Moreover, the characteristics of the role identity are present in the nexus between the attempt of some Russian political entrepreneurs to hide their Russian background and to be “afraid” that it may influence an influx of projected “the voices from Finnish side”. Therefore, the adoption of the perceived other’s view on this matter is rather clear in the campaign image of some of the Russian election candidates. Equally, the formulation of “the Finnish side” portrays a clear polarisation and identification of the Other. The overall perceived discrimination has a diverse direct impact on a perception of the Other and political activity. The systematic deviation in a political expertise of the Other may be perceived in Katarina’s statement as an occasional lack of understanding of the integration process within the political parties in Finland as well as the process in which cultural dialog takes place. This refers to a type identity of the Russian language speakers that is connected to the existence of the Russian speaking associations; follows in the next paragraph. Finally, in respect to the objective systemic conditions for minority’s political involvement, the interviewee assessed that there were no obstacles to it. In other words, she does not see that having a Russian background as discrimination and, therefore, an obstacle for candidacy for the RLM. This was in stark contrast to the rationale behind the perception of an employment situation. There in a focus are workers “with a different name and surname”.

All the interviewed experts emphasized the importance of the cultural aspects in communication with RLM. Anneli Ojala for instance identified a need for Russian native speaker’s cultural and language competence in dealing with immigrants. Moreover, type identity may be observed in feedback criticism of the Russian migrants in relation to Finnish lecturer’s mistakes in the use of the Russian language during lectures. Thus, this may be observed as an exercise in a type identity delimitation of group membership towards the Other. As earlier mentioned, Katarina underlined the cultural importance for the Russian language minority as well as the necessity for cultural dialog understanding. Conversely, Anastasia placed culture in another frame. According to her idea, the Russian language population who visits the centre are exclusively interested in Russian and Finnish cultural events. Hence, she has opposed

any political initiatives to be presented in the centre fearing that they may be seen as promoting a “field for the political arena”.

In relation to the Russian associations in the metropolitan area, the interviewees made several observations. Anneli Ojala explains that the “older organizations”, meaning older than ten years, were not interested in participating in the “Skilled project” programme and hence missed out on the possibility to recruit new members as well as to refresh or learn new skills. Regarding the activities of the RLM’s organizations, Anastasia defines the notion of “the language bubble” that is within the main aim of their activities and existence in one hand and it separates in a way the RLM’s associations from the others in the society. Hence, she proposed that the Russian organizations should extend their activities beyond the “language bubble” and associate more with the Finnish organizations. This correlates in a way with Stanislav Marinet’s – FARO– assessment. In this sense, the type identity is working against the advancement of organizational work. As the alternative can be observed the cultural centre fusion and “kohtaaminen” or meeting of Self and the Other via culture. Finally, Katarina assessed that there is a gap between Russian-speaking organizations and the Russian population due to several reasons. As she explained, there are a number of individuals, who are not members of any organization and for that matter not represented. Secondly, some of the leadership of the Russian-speaking organizations are active yet they pursue only personal careers. Finally, there is inter-organizational conflict over state financing which is in line with the interpretations that received during the first discussions with the members of RLM in 2014.

At the conclusion of the one to-one interviews, several issues may be underlined in light of the focus of this study. First, the type identity appears in a communication between the Self and the Other. Characteristically to the type identity distinctiveness, the minority members have delimited the group membership in contact with perceived outsiders. They did it through native speakers of the Russian language membership in order to mark the membership rule and related self-other dichotomy (Wendt 1999, 225-226). Outside of the sphere of politics, governance, and culture, the social group borders were intentionally suppressed which lays the ground for shaping a collective identity. Secondly, most of the legitimations used by the interviewed experts are based on the two types: moral evaluation and rationalization. Moreover, rationalization appears in the legitimization of the Russian minority members by parting with the old and inapplicable governance systems of the ex-Soviet Union space as well as a limited knowledge of the governance systems in Finland. Equally, the span of competencies of the local authorities is an unknown quantity for them. In a parallel, an example of the moral evaluation is an

interest in a particular political party, “The Finns party”. It illustrates part of the value system of an image of the Other on perception to the minority and its position within the social structure. This is equally an example of rationalization as the mentioned political party recently embarked on a policy of introducing stricter immigration procedures.

The third is an interplay of factors in order to capitalize on a political interest. The role identity and integration reflect a strong nexus or even a “domino effect”. Hence, the lack of political interest of the Russian-speaking minority was argued by the ex-Soviet Union negative experiences: through a top-down promotion of political choices. This resulted in a lack of an interest for this category within new their surroundings in Finland. The lack of understanding of the Finnish governance system delivers the same result. The role identity appears in some political candidates’ rationale behind the attempts to hide their Russian background. Moreover, they did it in an attempt to capitalize on the Finnish majority votes. Here, the carried image of the Other is apparent (Wendt 1999, 227 cf. Wendt 1992, 406). Hence, Katarina for instance as a new political entrepreneur with the Russian-speaking background rejects this practice motivated by role identity and advertises a new approach beyond “cosmetic changes”. The notion “Cosmetic changes” indicates an absence of core development in the perceived political representation of the RLM and related address of problems. Katarina’s contacts with the RLM’s population as prospective voters and the political base indicates several problems. They are

1. Problems in minority perception of the importance of political representation,
2. Cultural isolation with a lack of comprehension of integration,
3. Lack of a multi-cultural social influencing as a passage to political activity and its understanding,
4. Perceived discrimination highlights: employment and professional qualification recognition as the main political topic for the overall minority population.

All these reasons have a significant impact on minority political mobilization towards the Other in contact with the minority membership, more so the older generation than younger. The combined understanding of these issues creates a counter role identity, which Katarina observes. Fourth, in relation to the Russian- speaking organizations all three interviewees pointed out development opportunities for them as well as limitations in their approach. Therefore, Anneli Ojala reported on the lack of interest by the older Russian- speaking organizations in capacity building through training as well as advertisement of new membership. The cultural centre coordinator acknowledged the importance of their language orientation but also the perceived development opportunity in exploring beyond the “language bubble”

– type identity– and reaching out to the Finnish organizations in cooperation. The same guidelines are valuable for the Other’s organizations. Finally, the political candidate reported in the disconnection between the minority population’s interest and desires and occasionally self-interest serving representatives. The under-representation was clearly reported and hence one of the points from the hypothesis confirmed. Finally, referring to a legal frame as a precondition for political activity, none of the interviewees reported obstacles in that regard. Referring to the local authorities’ interest in the Russian minority, they actively demonstrated (in particularly in Vantaa) an interest to mobilize their capacities in the development of a knowledge base and make contact with Russian background citizens, as reported by the project manager of the “Skilled” project.

5.4. Description of Web-based Interviews

As previously described, out of 44 responses of in online interviews, the 29 were from the Helsinki metropolitan area and 28 were suitable for analysis. The statistics in annexes I and II, provide an insight into more detailed data such as detailed number of answers per question, age and location group of respondents. Following is the analysis of the interviews per IDA and TA structures as described in the theory part. The quotes of the answers are chosen in the relevance of the answers, to the subject, identities traits and frame of the study’s research questions. Equally, another criterion was to collect answers of different genders as well as the age groups.

Context models

Most of the interviewees reported that they were socially active in some type of association: 19. The majority, (through general personal beliefs) considered that it is was important to be politically and socially active. However, the general personal beliefs were very different and the majority were framed within the notions of individual freedom and benefit for society as following examples illustrate:

“This is important because otherwise society can become stuck in mutual distrust, delusions, or worse, hatred” (Inga 60, Espoo).

“Society must be active and to defend their rights, as the state - is the repressive machine, and if you do not join with it in the fight, it will enslave human” (Inna, 40, Helsinki).

“This is important. Public sector in Finland has done and is doing very much to improve life in the country, help different groups of people and in different spheres of life” (Boris, 46, Vantaa)

Some interviewees expressed a view, which may be framed within the general expectations for the social and political situation for the future. Equally, there are observations for the collective as well as the minority role identity. Equally, the negative answers (5) were based on general personal beliefs. Some of them reflect a mistrust of politicians as well as well as the importance of individual freedoms as well as more generalized social factors:

“Of course this is extremely important. This is our opportunity to influence our common prosperous future”. “...Yes affects all aspects of life. First of all, it is a struggle against prejudice among Finns and Russians themselves. The Russian-speaking community in Finland is extremely politically passive - it is needed to unite our scattered forces and present own identity, the right to existence and development” (Antonina 47, Helsinki).

“No, I think it's a personal choice of each individual. To me politicians appear as breed of people who really do not know how to do anything.... that's why and politics” (Arkady, 53, Espoo). I'm not sure that Russian origin has an effect on my social and political participation. Rather, the environment and upbringing are more important” (Olga 50, Helsinki).

Referring to the existence of the influence of the Russian background on their social and political participation, a slight majority of the respondents answered positively: 15. Here, general personal beliefs frame a communication problem with the Other. It is apparent through traces of the causal nexus of a perceived discrimination-political activity and historical context. Again, general personal beliefs portray the characteristics of a role identity dimension towards the Other, which holds the Other perception in the mind *“the Russians - are not burden”* or *“society is opposed to Russians”*. Other perceptions relate to a lack of Finnish language skills as an incentive for political and social awareness. Moreover, the historical burden in the perception of the Other as defined under point 3 of the RLM delimitation lines. The type identities were presented in relation sphere of political and social choices as well as cultural and language activities. The interviewees who responded negatively -12- offered another set of interesting reasons. Hence, the Russian-speaking background portrayed transferred systematic traits of the Soviet Union as well as Russia as a cause. Equally, some responses were opposite towards the European values, this creates an incentive for the collective identity whereby the dividing identity line between the Self and the Other is not clear

“I think that the attitude of many Finns to Russia still reflected the dark pages of our history, “...Always need to know the position of the opposite side, that in Finland is not very simple” (Inga 60, Espoo).

“I participate in the activities of the school parents' committee is because I want to demonstrate that the Russians - are not burden, and participants of the social life. (Inna 40, Helsinki).

“I think I am excluded from the social and political activities because I am not considered an equal member of this society. If wanted to speak up I am not sure it would be received well. My Russian friends had to change their names to hide their Russian background. I think this shows the double standards this society lives by” (Larisa 30, Helsinki).

“However, in Finland, society is opposed to Russians. History, media, propaganda, all contributes to the fact that people in blood are in denial of Russians. Therefore all my participation in the political life I think it is impossible, due to the negative, appearing only at the mention of my origin” (Anastasiya 26, Vantaa).

Type identity example:

“Influence can manifest in the following - I will never vote for a candidate or party who hold Russophobe views” (Oksana 41, Espoo).

“My Russian speaking origin affect my social activity only to the extent that part of my social activity is associated with the activities of organizations of the Russian speaking in Finland” (Boris 46, Vantaa).

Examples of negative answers.

“...in Russia the majority of people do not have the resources for social and political activism. So I got used to that social and political activity - not the most important thing” (Valentina 29, Helsinki)

“Does not have. During the first 9 years of life in Finland, I became even more aware of European values, and feel part of Finland. Especially in the current situation of confrontation between Russia and Europe, I do not want to be part of the “Russian camp” and try to live a normal life, which people live around me” (Varvara, 37, Helsinki).

Type identity

Questions on the possible need for an increased minority political participation and organized political representation revealed a variety of answers. Moreover, the answers revealed all three identities in the focus of the study as examples below show. Concerning the type identity, a “pre-social” or intrinsic characteristic of sharing the Russian language, culture and other “commonalities” was connected to the political sphere. This polarization reflects “intrinsic” traits of actors yet socially positioned in such way that it “orientates the behaviour of the Others toward it” (Wendt 1999, 225- 226). The type identity or shared membership dimension appears in the perception of the RLM as an influencer on overall social and political situation. Therefore, it appears as the labelling element of minority’s perceived social delimitation. Conversely, increased utilization of the Russian language in the new fields is perceived as an opportunity for increased participation in the political life of the society. This is clearly emphasize of the native language importance in a social and political animation of the RLM.

“However, in Finland, society is opposed to Russians. History, media, propaganda, all contributes to the fact that people in blood are in denial of Russians. Therefore all my participation in the political life I think it is impossible, due to the negative, appearing only at the mention of my origin” (Anastasiya, 26, Vantaa).

“After the beginning of the Ukrainian crisis I saw several programs on TV, which discussed the alleged danger of dual Russian-Finnish citizenship. [...] I feel reluctance to speak publicly in Russian - or rather, I have to force myself to speak in Russian in the street, in a store or transport, because the negative reaction of the surrounding to the Russian language, I think, has increased” (Inga 60, Espoo).

“Need to use public means of social interaction to communicate in Russian language” (Natalya 57, Helsinki).

“...participation of the Russian-speaking minority in Finland life, in general, is not observed. For example, it is worth to make the Russian language compulsory to study in schools, or even a third official, on the example of the Swedish language” (Alexei 24, Helsinki).

“Yes, necessary to be increased. Need more materials in Russian language” (Vitaly 29, Helsinki).

“Before the elections would very much help materials, such as brochures describing the programs of the candidates in Russian. Sometimes it's hard to choose, to decide its position on the fact that one have something one do not understand” (Iskra 28, Helsinki).

Role identity

A political polarization is apparent through the role identity perception of the Other. The mutual understanding of the roles can be observed in the interpretation of the RLM’s perception of its representation and politics in the society; delimitating particular roles. Furthermore, having in mind traits

of the role identity - exist exclusively “in relation to the other” and “through the behavioural norms” - further developments in the social positioning of the Self towards the Other further crystalize the role images and ideas (Wendt 1999, 227).

“Political representation - not, as a politics in Finland should be Finnish. Social activity of Russian language speaking could be higher” (Oksana 41, Espoo).

“Now there are 2 large Russian-speaking organizations: CRBC and FARO. [...] FARO people, Soviet in spirit who are not interested in real representation and other constructive activities, but only interested in the money! Necessary are other structures for the representation of the interests of Russian-speaking residents of Finland” (Boris 46, Vantaa).

“We could start by having some Russians represented in the positions of power. So far I feel there is a glass ceiling for the Russian-speaking minority” (Larisa 30, Helsinki).

“Yes, but only because there is similar representation for Swedes. I have never encountered any discrimination based on my origin, but I believe it would do some good to represent Russians officially for the entire population”. “....There is no other way than creating a Russian-speakers party, similar to Swedish people party (Evgeniy 30, Espoo).

Language appears as a barrier to increased political participation as well as the point 4 in the RLM's delimitation lines. Thus, role identity carries the Other in the perception of overall self-existence. In order to complete the previously framed identities, a “historic” and “biological” perception of the Russian minority surfaces in its members' statements. It references the historical context as a political mobilizer of the Other and biological rationale as passivity of the Self. Moreover, the majority of answers are based on a number of concrete social issues, and hence cause a context model of “Goals or expectations about the current social situation” category. Equally, they revealed a shared idea by a number of interviewees; no joint political agenda that would mobilize all of the minority members.

“Russian community -The most disunited because we - are atomized and separated from birth. By any artificial means it is not corrected. When in Finland will be a million Russian -nothing change anyway. And the Winter War (even if it was on, it was necessary to come up with it) is one of the most important factors of unity of the Finnish nation. Such things do not tear, for the sake of something of a national minority”! (Arkady 53, Espoo)

“No. It's not needed to turn Finland into another Russia” (Anna 35, Helsinki).

“Political representation - not, as a politics in Finland should be Finnish” (Oksana 41, Espoo).

“Protecting the rights of Russian-speaking families of mothers - this could be the cause of the political activity of the Russian-speaking minority, as it requires changes in the legislation concerning the protection of the family, motherhood and protection of children's rights “(Vasilisa 57, Helsinki).

Collective identity

The traits of the collective identity through interactivity appeared in the blurred distinction between the Self and the Other. It is apparent through the process in which the actors identify as one “the socially constituted me” (Wendt 1999, 229). Hence, related supporting statements may be positioned in several points. First, defines the new collective identity, through merging the Finnish and Russian background

into one identity. Second portrays the absence of the self-other distinction by which there is a new identity without polarization of self and other as the start position. Finally, it is the perception of the higher integration level, which consequently lead towards political integration into society.

"We are all very different. Someone Ingrians someone came to study and work, someone to marry. But for all of us, Finland became the new homeland" (Iskra 28, Helsinki). "I'm glad that I can be proud of our Finnish roots. I like to learn Russian and Finnish in Finland" (Ekaterina 55, Helsinki).

"I see sense in increasing the participation of all the layers of the Finnish population in political life" (Anastasiya 26, Vantaa).

"Those who wish to do politics, tends to anyway, and it does not stick to the language or nationality" (Anna 35, Helsinki).

"I see a need for greater integration of Russian-speaking minority. This would lead to an increase in the participation of the Russian-speaking population in the political life. I do not know how it can be improved. In Finland, is already highly developed system Integration of minorities. Maybe it's needed to carry out educational activities and introduce the culture of the Russian-speaking Finland" (Valentina 29, Helsinki).

Local Meaning

The interviewees responded in a limited number within "the ideological square". All of the bellow presented examples belong to the category of the role identities as they present the image of the self-perceived to be seen by the other and hence included in an image of the self. The large majority of the interviewees did not express their opinions that can be placed within "the ideological circle on the majority of questions. The highest number of answers within "the ideological square" are related to "move" of "Express/emphasize information that is negative about THEM". Thus, the questions in relation to image of the minority within the metropolitan area and media image were the one with most of such assessments; 5 in former and 8 in later. Clearly, a number of the Russian language minority who have expressed their views can be placed within the "ideological square" and the "four moves". Along with negative presentation of them, a number of the collected responses contained move Express/emphasize information that is positive about US".

Express/emphasize information that is negative about THEM.

"Always need to know the position of the opposite side that in Finland is not very simple" (Inga, 60, Espoo). "....I am not considered an equal member of this society", "....society is opposed to Russians" (Larisa, 30, Helsinki).

Express/emphasize information that is positive about US.

"I want to demonstrate that the Russians - are not burden, and participants of the social life" (Inna 40, Helsinki). "The general population should understand that we are no threat and no savages" (Larisa 30, Helsinki).

Lexical Analysis

The lexical analysis offered two surprisingly different perceptions. In one hand, it was the perception of the internal differences and fragmentation within the RLM. Here the dividing line within the minority itself is perceived a degree of integration into society and lexicalization of the minority's sub-society. The following lexicalization appeared in relation to the image of the Russian language minority. In the other hand, it is a minority member's perception of the Self within the in-group, with an intense interpretation of the division line in a rather negative context and meaning.

"As I already said, the Russian-speaking minority is very different. I know dozens of people, absolutely fit into the Finnish society, both in a professional environment, and on a personal level. I know and those who exist in a kind of "Russian ghetto" - not working, or working in the Russian-speaking sector, reading Russian books and watching Russian television. This is – normal" (Inga 60, Espoo).

"differently. Russian minority here is so different: from fully assimilated, employed in labour relations and speak the language to asocial living of benefits" (Anastasiya 26, Vantaa).

Negative context and meaning: *"...rednecks. Disgusting people, to be honest. Spoil the whole lack of crime statistics in Finland"* (Kseniya 18, Vantaa).

"Integrated-full (actively despise others, but suffers from exactly the same attitude on the part of locals) and the majority. The last resemble stray dogs. Forever whining, always hungry and always ready to steal something (especially if sure of their own impunity)" (Arkady 53, Espoo).

The lexicalization of the Other connects to apolitical activity and anti-discriminatory lexicon. Equally, the question of minority image in the media was perhaps most fruitful for analysis. As the media, reflect a sphere of public opinion the self-other dichotomy perception surfaced in one of its clearest forms. It offers a role identity examples but also an idea of identity extension from Russia through comments of the foreign policy issues. This supports once more my argument against Wendt's claim on identities along Westphalia lines. The smaller number of interviewees had a somewhat positive evaluation of media coverage of the Russian language minority.

"...absolutely unprofessional. racist articles that foreigners commit most crimes" (Anastasiya 26, Vantaa), *"Extremely poor ☹"* (Antonina 47, Helsinki).

"current anti-Russian propaganda[...] alleged Russian aggression" (Inga 60, Espoo), *"Finnish society in general ... no smell"* (Anna 35, Helsinki).

"It's only bad things that make it to the news. Or "look, these immigrants ARE actually having a job" - style. Never about real successes or the people doing more meaningful work than cleaning the toilets" (Larisa 30 Helsinki).

"Biased politics EEC, the predominance of negative information about Russia casts a shadow on the Russian-speaking people living here, despite the fact that they have long been citizens of Finland. In general, very poor, select the individual, often negative, moments and events" (Elizaveta, 41, Helsinki).

"Russian-speaking minorities are remembered only in conflict situations, in others - do not talk about it at all" (Vasilisa 57, Helsinki).

Style and rhetoric

The overall use of pronouns is predominantly related to personal pronouns and therefore it is a mark of group representation or “We” (Fairclough 2003, 161-163). However, there are also group representation in use of “We” by different rationale. The interviews rhetoric and style indeed varied. It can be summarized into several styles and rhetoric. First is anti-discriminatory rhetoric and style such as the metaphor for the perceived double standards “glass ceiling for the Russian-speaking minority”. Equally, it revealed the lack of social mobility opportunities and the bottom-up of the delimitation factor for the minority members. Second, characterizes an indifference to the society characterised by the metaphor of one of the interviewees “Finnish society in general...no smell”. Third, it is the pro-integration style and rhetoric characterized with the Russian proverb of one: “In a strange monastery do not go with your own regulations”. Finally, there is a historical rationale causal style and rhetoric characterized by “dark pages of our history”. All of these styles and rhetoric are further elaborated on in part with the negotiated discourses.

“Of course exists, and in the metropolitan area and throughout Finland. Simply because we are different from native Finns and from the Russians living in Russia. We have our own problems of development of Finnish society and preservation of cultural ties with the former homeland” (Antonina 47, Helsinki).

“We have all the opportunities for successful integration, employment and development. Those Russian, which are not integrated, make a conscious choice in favour of the marginalized” (Valentina 29, Helsinki).

“After all, we live as we live, Finns do not care for us” (Olesya 47, Helsinki).

“We should be treated better, otherwise the best of us will move elsewhere. Russian language minority is an asset for the Finnish society, but so far it has just been marginalized and almost openly discriminated. (Larisa 30, Helsinki).

Legitimation

In the view of tables 1 and 2, Annex II, it is clear that most of the legitimations were based on moral evaluations or, and rationalizations. The legitimations based on the authorization (significantly less present) were based on the historical traditions of the minority or historical events such as the Winter War. In summary the combination of moral evaluation and rationalizations are the base of the legitimations of the afore presented views. The moral evaluation was primarily based on a value system with evaluative and beliefs or like dislike pattern of assessment. The rationalization on the other hand referred to some form of institutional action.

Moral evaluation: *“...to create a separate party - it seems to me inappropriate” (Vasilisa 57, Helsinki).*

Rationalization: *“...as it requires changes in the legislation concerning the protection of the family, motherhood and protection of children's rights” (Vasilisa 57, Helsinki).*

5.5. Analysis of Web-based Interviews

As presented earlier, the web-based interviews were a fruitful source of a number of important and interesting data. Furthermore, some respondents' answers entailed comments directed to me as the researcher. Almost all of them expressed satisfaction with the research although there were a few that did not quite fit this description. Moreover, those raised strong negative and emotional reactions to the purpose of this study which may be understandable in the context of the subject of study as well as the ongoing Ukrainian crisis. Primarily, the web-based interviews presented an image of colourful and different perceptions of the Other in light of Wendt's "typology of identities" (Wendt 1999, 198).

The objective two relates to the type identity and differentiation of the Self and the Other by the key terminology. The role identity key terminology and the RLM counter identity towards the Other were regarded as point three of the path to research questions. Due to the complexity of answers to both points, I have identified the scale of five different discourses in the next chapter. Each of them contributes a piece of the puzzle in the definition of the key terminology used in differentiation of the Self and the Other in type and role identity traits. As for the point four of the course to research questions, traces of a new collective political identity do exist. They are also present as the highlights within the different indicate examples above and within the five discourses scale. However, the complete agreement on political agenda or possible description of an eventual modus operandi is still absent. The activeness and passiveness of the minority members in political activities, as the discourses below show is related directly to the perception of the Other and the idea of respective counter-identity. Hence, the Russian language minority as such is rather stratified constructed notion with equally contended positions by its members. Nevertheless, several grounds as joint perception units – within and outside of "typology of identities" resurfaced from the interview responses (idem, 224-233). The ends of the discourse scale are marked with the two discourses: "*Glass ceiling*"- "*Isolation*". The rest are positioned in between them.

Although the web-based interviews portrayed a number of delimitation lines between minority-majority nexus, it equally presented divisive lines within the RLM. These in perception constructed divisive lines are in fact create the fragmentation within the minority structure or different sub-minority groups. Furthermore, they rest upon versatile factors, such as the willingness to integrate, and the idea of the minority position in the society. Furthermore, it is a perception of the minority's' position towards other population of the foreign origin and finally the differences towards the perception of the Other. As seen from the quoted answers, differences in the perception of the RLM, in fact, testify on the divergence in the social construction of the social position and in the construction of the Other's position in some

cases. Thus, the personal experiences of the minority members based on the mentioned versatile factors determine the construction of the perception to the RLM itself. One obvious conclusion derived from the media coverage of the Russian-speaking minority. It is a dissatisfaction with the narratives on Russia in light of the Ukrainian crisis. Although the question was intended to inquire on the image of the RLM in the metropolitan area, the vast majority of answers defined this reporting as untrue, bias or even hypocritical. The expansion of the national identity into the transnational political space was empirically confirmed once more. The social construction of interviewees in the interpretation of this interview question equally supports this conclusion. The versatility of the Russian-speaking minority and construction of their perceptions are mirrored in the diversity of their answers. Thus, I have filtered them in a number of negotiated discourses to follow in next chapter.

5.6. Comparison One-to One and Web-based Interviews

Both sets of interviews highlighted the versatility of the rationales behind perceptions on and of the RLM on political and social activities. Hence, it may be said that construction pillars of such perceptions are versatile. Never the less there are several connecting points to note in light of this study. As first, the one- to-one interviews with experts revealed that a number of population of the RLM lack the institutional knowledge in order to adequately involve in the political and social participation. Therefore, Hopf's concept of an intersubjective understanding, through casted identity via norms and practices, has limited effect in the context of political activities (Hopf 1998, 173). Hence, as Anneli and Katarina confirmed due to the lack of knowledge on norms and practices this identity is not acknowledged and counter action and identity is limited (ibid. cf. Guzzini 2000, 160-161). In the other hand, the political idea of the Other and its practices appear through an inquiry on "Finn Party" or *Perussuomalaiset*". This may represent a reference to the creation of the counter identity through an action or behaviour in the future (Hopf 1998, 173 cf. Wendt 1999, 21, 227).

A lack of social mobility among migrants and traditional lack of interest in politics in the ex-Soviet Union space contributes to their passivity. Equally, a lack of the social mobility increases the idea of a perceived discrimination and the RLM's reaction appears as reflex towards a negative perception of the Other (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2006, 296-297). The web-based interviews presented an increased social activity of the RLM's members and a small political interest. Out of 15 positive answers, only 2 were involved in previously defined political activities. Furthermore, in this respect the presented interest and demonstrated curiosity and involvement by the local authorities towards the RLM may contribute to the change. Finally, the perception of the importance of the political by the RLM is a significant factor as

elaborated by Katarina. Secondly, Anneli and Katarina both reported a gap between the RLM associations and their membership. Equally, Katarina confirmed a feeling of misrepresentation by the members. This proves the point of misrepresentation from the hypothesis. Finally, all interviewed experts highlighted the type identity (Wendt 1999, 225-226) through language commonality. However, this identity had a different appearance in experts' utterances reflecting upon a different context of their construction. The common thread of their statements is that the type identity was used to strengthen the collective identity of the RLM as well as to delimit polarisation between the Self and the Other: associations "language bubble" example.

The content and number of the answers in relation to the media image of the RLM highlighted several points. Primarily it confirmed the existence of a transnational political space between Finland and Russia. Moreover, it appears through answers on the media image of the RLM (Mathias et al. 2009, 17-19). Hence, the majority of the answers were related to identification with Russian position in IR as the homeland. Thus, members of the RLM confirmed the earlier claim of identities crossing, beyond the Westphalian lines. Moreover, the identities extend into transnational spaces (Adamson 2002, 157). The role of the diaspora organizations as an agent in the structure of transnational political space decreases through lack of cooperation between them. Equally, the disconnection between members and representatives contributes to it. The FARO as an umbrella organization has minimized its role in the RLM community. Through web-based interviews, most of the RLM's delimitation lines appeared in the statements related to Wendt's "typology of identities": Bottom-up, History and Language lines. Moreover, it proved that the construction of these lines carries a constructed perception of the Self by the Other. Thus, the mentioned intersubjective understanding forms partly minority identity as the RLM: exception are the language divisive lines (Mead 1967, 175 cf. Wendt 1999, 198, 224). Equally, it establishes the divisive lines and understanding of who the Other is (Hopf 1998, 174-175). These claims relate to the major part of the RLM, certainly not to the entire minority. As next chapter indicates the constructed understanding of the self and the other is broad as it is the RLM. The main result of the data-collection process is the perception of the two causal factors of the political passivity of the RLM. Hence, both Anneli and Katarina have identified the ex-Soviet legacy of passive social perceptions and practices. As such, they dictate the dynamics and scope of political interest. The following scale of the five different discourses synthesizes perceived constructions on politics as well as the role and the image of the Other and counter identity towards the Other (Wendt 1999, 21). In other words, afore compared interviews the with discourses bellow compose a comprehensive picture of the self-other dichotomy related to the Russian language minority in the Helsinki metropolitan area.

6. THE SCALE OF FIVE DISCOURSES

The analysis of the web-based interviews portrayed results that were castes into five different discourses. They are: “Glass Ceiling, I say “¡no pasarán!, We are “Sui Generis”, Our perception, to be continued, Isolation”. In summary, I have identified five different discourses of the Other and the respective position of the role identity in them.

6.1. Glass Ceiling

This discourse as the name shows represents extreme political and social polarization rooted in perceived discrimination by the Other. Hence, it is predominantly based on the anti-discriminatory discourse in reference to perceived infringed upon minority rights. The Russian language minority perceive Self as intentionally discriminated against due to their background and hence establishes a political counter role identity accordingly. Although, in the discourse it is possible to observe glances of a positive assessment of the Self-position towards the Other it is then instantly succeeded by a negative extreme evaluation on a different topics.

“I think I'm excluded from the social and political activities because I'm not considered to be an equal member of this society. If I wanted to speak up I'm not sure it would be received well. My Russian friends had to change their names to hide their Russian background. I think this shows the double standards this society lives by: declaring everyone is equal, but in practice heavily discriminating one group.” (Larisa 30, Helsinki).

“...However, in Finland, society is opposed to Russian. History, media, propaganda, all contributes to the fact that people in blood are in denial of Russian. Therefore all my participation in the political life I think it is impossible, due to the negative, appearing only at the mention of my origin” (Anastasiya 26, Vantaa).

“...Finns rarely pass acquaintance level” (Evgeniy 30, Espoo).

Referring to a number of social and political perceptions, this discourse reveals a number of deep group frustrations. Therefore, this discourse projects itself in the same counter identity path. Moreover, the political remedy for this situation foresees a position in a range of political and social impressions and initiatives, such as the ones bellow.

“...we need better representation”, “The general population should understand that we are no threat and no savages” “...joint political agenda might be difficult to form because of the diverse backgrounds and political opinions existing in the Russian-speaking community” “We could start by having some Russians represented in the positions of power. So far I feel there is a glass ceiling for the Russian-speaking minority” (Larisa 30, Helsinki).

“due to the negative attitude to Russians, political representation originally would be doomed to failure” (Anastasiya 26, Vantaa).

“Yes, but only because there is similar representation for Swedes” (Evgeniy 30, Espoo).

The “Glass ceiling”, is a metaphor for dual standards and a hidden system of barriers facing minorities.

As such it is a fundament that characterises this discourse. The systematic action of “us” includes the

establishment of a new political party. The discourse uses the Swedish language minority political and language position in order to capitalise on own future solutions.

"Yes, I see, as today the participation of the Russian-speaking minority in Finland life, in general, is not observed. For example, it is worth to make the Russian language compulsory to study in schools, or even a third official, on the example of the Swedish language" (Alexei 24, Helsinki).

"There is no other way than creating a Russian-speakers party, similar to Swedish people party" (Evgeniy 30, Espoo).

Such a new party is as an instrument that would create a political counter identity balance to the Other's major parties. In other words, this party would be a reflection of the role identity to introduce a new policy pattern of minority protection against discrimination. Equally, the size and background wideness of the Russian-speaking minority are recognized as major obstacle definition of common political agenda. Equally, the mutual image of the minority problems serves as an incentive for increased social and political mobilization within Finnish society. Finally, the media image of the Russian-speaking minority is evaluated in the light of the previous polarisation.

"...It's only bad things that make it to the news. Or "look, these immigrants ARE actually having a job"-style. Never about real successes or the people doing more meaningful work than cleaning the toilets" (Larisa 30, Helsinki).

"...absolutely unprofessional. ranging from racist articles that foreigners commit most crimes, ending discussion of recent developments in the political arena" (Anastasiya 26, Vantaa).

6.2. I Say “¡No Pasarán!”

Within the discourse, there is a perceived discrimination by the Other at a multi-layered reality of the political and social system in Finland. There is a clear understanding that the Russian minority background influences political and social activities. Moreover, the influence is foreseen in the appearing discrimination against the minority members in political and social life. Thus, the Russian language minority members recognise and endorse the importance of an exclusively individual political counter identity: hence “¡No Pasarán!” to the perceived idea of a discrimination. They are perceived as a tool against present discrimination:

"...Influence can manifest in the following - I will never vote for a candidate or a party who hold Russo-phobic views" (Oksana 41, Espoo).

"...it should be noted that in our committee elementary school and I was the only Russian-speaking. I support the Russian-speaking candidates and vote for them in the elections, because that is what they are saying and I understand there is a chance that the presence of the Russian-speaking deputy affects the reduction of discrimination" (Inna 40, Helsinki).

The role identity and “shared expectations” are conveyed to exclusive prerogatives of the Other. Therefore, politics is within, in the domain and competence of the Other. The very idea of the Russian language minority in any role of a political shareholder - the political “We” - initiates perceived negative connotations of identity extension to the Russia. The substitute to the absence of organized political inclusion is foreseen in compensation within social activities field.

“Political representation - not, as a politics in Finland should be Finnish” (Oksana 41, Espoo).
“Political - not in order for it to use to their advantage by the pro-Russian lobby” (Inna 40, Helsinki).
 In spite of the perceived discrimination, the overall position and image of the minority is evaluated as “good”. The obstacle is identified in the lack of adequate representative organizations. The media coverage of Russia as well as Russian language minority is assessed differently; to former as “both spoken and written about her bad and continue” and to the latter “superficial” as well as “improving”.

6.3. We are “Sui Generis”

Having a Russian background influences an incentive for prejudices between the Russian language and the Other. Such situation requires a unification of the minority into the “political us” towards the Other. This position is guided by the bitter experiences and labelling in the past – such as “occupier in Estonia” and the feeling of extreme passivity – “scattered forces”. There is an increased need for a fulfilment of the social necessity such as employment. Furthermore, a rationale for political representation is placed with a particular position and characteristics between the Other and the “homeland”.

“Of course exists, and in the metropolitan area and throughout Finland. Simply because we are different from native Finns and from the Russians living in Russia.” (Antonina 47, Helsinki).

The scope of political activities towards the other are versatile and include the promotion of Russian minority’s agendas within existing political parties and new organizations. Equally, the desirable is a priority of the activities in adjusting the laws and regulations relating to family issues.

“Support for the Russian-speaking candidate in the parliamentary elections, or simply vote, search active position or program, support any party” (Antonina 47, Helsinki).

“...but to create a separate party - it seems to me inappropriate” (Vasilisa 57, Helsinki).

“There is no single umbrella organization” (Boris 46, Vantaa).

“Participation in associations and their creation. 2. Development of the Russian-speaking and bilingual media, greater awareness. 3. Organisation of events in Russian. 4. Activities aimed at adaptation and integration. 5. Reducing racial and linguistic discrimination” (Sofia 41, Helsinki).

The role identity for this discourse is a political competition with the Other within the existing political institutions and structures. This is a rationale for the “political us” towards the Other. Hence, the position and the counter role identity towards the Other is a collective mobilization of current political and social levels: *“There are already examples of political activity of Russian-speaking citizens of Finland, as a rule are members of major political parties”* (Vasilisa 57, Helsinki). Finally, negative media’ coverage of the Russian language minority is evaluated as “poor”, insufficient” and securitized under EU influence. This serves as another incentive for a counter role identity of the political “Us”.

6.4. Our Perception, to be continued

This is a discourse of the recently arrived Russian-speaking migrants to Finland. Hence, their language skills in Finnish are limited, which in turn creates a lack of current knowledge in social and political

developments. The majority of comments involved social and language connections with minority and the Other. Therefore, comments reflect an aspiration for better and faster integration into the society:

"...I'm looking for a job, and I would like to find a job, contact any Russian-speaking community, to work in Russian companies or something", "... I am not active, because I do not know much Finnish and do not understand what's going on around me"(Kseniya 18, Vantaa).

"... believe that "News" YLE should be longer and all the inhabitants of Finland, speaking in Russian, should listen to them" (Natalya 57, Helsinki).

In this discourse, the Other is acknowledged in the relation level of successful integration by the minority members in terms of language skills. The Other role identity in this discourse is very mild and therefore barely exists. The role of the Other may be positioned within the frame of recognition of the dichotomy yet without significant role identity.

"The group is so different, different types, that it is impossible to judge one sided. I have friends that are integrated very well, remarkably speak Finnish, work, have friends among the Finns (most of them). There are, however, and those who cannot find work here like a long time, communicates mostly with Russian-speaking (i.e. only 2 people). Attitude of Finns to Russian-speaking is very different. Many of those relate negatively, unfortunately" (Iskra 28, Helsinki).

However, an identification of the RLM within carried much stronger formulations:

"rednecks. Disgusting people, to be honest. Spoil the whole lack of crime statistics in Finland. The situation is normal, no dissatisfied views towards my side did not notice" (Kseniya 18, Vantaa).

6.5. Isolation

The discourse characterises indifference towards both the social and political processes in society. The overall observation perception of the Other is merged with a colourless perception of the society.

"...I think that minorities are free to choose whether they want to be involved in politics. However, I do not think that the Russians have to be somehow more active than the main population" (Natasha 28, Helsinki). *"...Do not know answer for this question and do not care"* (Nikolai 29, Helsinki).

"After all, we live as we live, Finns do not care for us" (Olesya 47, Helsinki).

The role identity of the Other and towards the Other is to acknowledgement without an active approach and strategy. Although the discourse acknowledges a certain characteristic in communication with the Other, there is no incentive for the creation of the counter identity in any form or level. The media image of the minority is equally not positioned towards any significant distinctive opinion. Unlike all previous discourses, it does not deal with minority image or gives a reference to Russia. The conclusion is that it is not spoken of much in this subgroup within the RLM.

"In, I have not ever (maybe not yet) experienced any discrimination, but I have heard, for example, from TV that many Russian are called ryssä. This apparently occurs especially when the Russians talk to each other in Russian in a public place. However, I have the impression that the Russian-Finnish are satisfied with their lives and not very many people want to go back to Russia" (Natasha 28, Helsinki).

7. CONCLUSION

With regard to the particularity of the formulation of the research questions, the core purpose of this study was to discover the political activity or inactivity of the RLM in the Helsinki metropolitan area. Moreover, as an immanent part of the main topic is the use and the influence of the self-other dichotomy to the RLM: in a sphere of political activity or inactivity. In an effort to do so, I have brought to the forefront the arguments focusing on the influence of the self-other dichotomy to the political contemplations of the RLM via Wendt's "typology of identities" (Wendt 1999, 198). In addition, I have argued against the constructivist stand of Alexander Wendt related to the identity exclusivity of the state identities along Westphalia lines (idem 1999, 224- 232 cf. idem, 233 cf. idem, 202).

Several objectives were laid as a road map towards reaching the research aim and all of them were proven and supported with respective arguments. Firstly, an argument against the exclusivity of the Westphalian concept on state identities otherwise known as "the billiard ball concept" (idem, 202). I have proved through a variety of diaspora examples that state identities extend beyond Westphalian lines: into transnational political spaces. Secondly, a number of qualitative data collection methods and utilized I was able to record the differentiation of the language and cultural dimension of the type identity towards the Other. Third, capitalizing on the same data material - the scale of five discourses – and the frame of a role identity revealed an insight into the RLM's perception of the Other. Equally, it stemmed the Russian language minority's constructed political counter-identities. Fourthly, in a rather limited number of statements of the minority members, appeared representations of the political collective identity. Thus, this completes all of the designed supporting tools or the road map objectives in this study. Therefore, the social identity position in the self-other nexus or "out-group" towards "in-group", stands upon negotiated discourses. Furthermore, some new discoveries and polarizations appeared. Most of the interviewees were socially active in some form of association, but only a few were politically involved. On the notion of the Other's endorsed action towards the minority, in an intersubjective understanding of the social and political sphere (Hopf 1998, 173). The hypothesis of the study was proven in over ninety percent of examples. Finally, an anti-discriminatory or antiracist ideology is reconstructed from the negotiated discourses. The following lines reveal the summary of the described points in more details.

This study dealt with the micro and macro level or interstate and domestic affairs analysis. Moreover, as it portrayed versatility of perceptions, I found that it simply the answer to the research questions does

not have one common denominator. Therefore, in respect of Wendt's claim to the exclusivity of national identities along Westphalian lines (Wendt 1999, 9 cf. idem, 193-245) there are two pillars of arguments: one more than foreseen at the start of this study. At one end, through examples in Israeli, Croatian and Cypriot diaspora's state identities clearly extend beyond state and into transnational political space (Smith 1999 cf. idem, 505 cf. Shain 1999, 9 cf. idem, 200-202 cf. Adamson and Demetriou 2007, 508). The second pillar is concrete findings of this study through anonymous responses of the Russian-speaking minority members. The incentive for their answers appeared through questions on the minority and media image in the Helsinki metropolitan area. The majority of them perceived media reporting on Russia as bias in it clearly defended Russian positions. Thus, the Russian state identity extension into diaspora-constructed space had its empirical confirmation in the collected materials.

The starting point for framing a conclusion of the "typology of identities" (Wendt 1999, 198) would be a versatility within the Russian language minority, which has its reflection in a versatile perception of the Other. However, in the frame of a less abstract formulation, this study offers a scale of discourses with clearly defined ends as border values towards the perception of the Other: "Glass ceiling" discourse and "Isolation" discourse". Together with the 3 expert professional opinions on the RLM, this is the closest to a credible and empirically grounded study that I was able to get. As for the self-other distinction of the Russian language minority in relation to political activity or inactivity, the conclusion is two-folded. There is a strong triangle of notions, which casts a domino effect in this regard: the interplay of the political interest, role identity and general integration level. In other words, it can be delimited by Wendt's conclusion "an actor cannot know what it wants until it know who it is" (idem, 231). Consequently, the scale of discourses in the perception of the Other reveals adequate perception of the Other's role identity and "corresponding counter identity "or identities (idem, 21). As an example of the Other as a discriminator in the Glass ceiling discourse are views such as "some Russians represented in the positions of power" or "There is no other way than creating a Russian-speakers party, similar to Swedish people party". The same rationale relates to type identity in the shared characteristic of language (idem, 225-226). That rationale rests on the statements such as "for example, it is worth to make the Russian language compulsory to study in schools, or even a third official, on the example of the Swedish language". Finally, the political collective identity was present only by glances within the responses and it cannot be regarded as significant to be framed within one discourse. In addition to the presented discourses and important to note, were several additional perceptions from the three expert professionals. Moreover, they have highlighted the following influencers on the RLM's political passivity. First, the tradition and legacy of the ex-Soviet passive social perceptions and practices has its place in the

contemporary political motivation of the RLM. Secondly, the lack of institutional knowledge of the state system in Finland is a factor that limits the RLM's perception to politically influence its position in the Finnish society. Finally, the role of the RLM associations in the capacity of the NGO sector political influencers and mobilizers is missing and strong organization is perceived as needed by at least part of the RLM.

Concerning the hypothesis, I find that it proved as true. Following are deducted observations from the study.

Hypothesis: The perception of the Self and the Other in a political context is in use predominantly as a limitation factor of political activity.

Answer: Having in mind the majority of the discourses in favour of some sort of action against the current position of the minority towards perceived discrimination I believe the answers yes. It would be untrue to present this as the only standpoint.

Hypothesis: Due to the history of international relations (IR) tensions between Finland and Russia as well as to maintain an invisible political profile in Finland. The perception of the self and the other in the political activities of the Russian language minority in metropolitan area are perceived as a taboo subject. Consequently, it is rarely shared outside of the Russian-speaking minority group.

Answer: This is completely true, as I have spent practically a year in getting interviews data for the research. Again, without external assistance and utilization of their private contacts I would fail in this segment. There is no doubt in my mind about it.

Hypothesis: The Russian language minority is politically passive from the political participation in the work of political parties, various associations and election process. The reason for such abstinence is a disconnection between representatives of the minority in the form of minority associations, their scope of activities and grassroots level political interest of the minority members. This leads to a feeling of underrepresentation.

Answer: This point is mostly proven, apart from the first conclusion. Most of the interviewees were politically passive, but they were members of some organization or somehow politically or socially active. All the social and political activities belong to the "conventional" type (Goel & Smith 1980, 77). There is a broken link in many Russian-speaking organizations leadership and their membership. Interviewed experts, Anneli Ojala and Katarina confirmed this. Moreover, some of the organizations were not interested in new membership or new skills, which raises the question of their goals and strategies. Equally, the reason given was the ex-Soviet immanent passive attitude towards political processes due to the negative advertising experience from the Soviet Union.

Before reconstruction of underlying ideology, I will conclude on a number of subpoints that I raised in the dimension of self-other nexus and as constructivism incentive. Social identity related self-other positioning in inter-group relations relates to the discourses scale. The interesting notion is the internal group perception. It appears within the analysis and is used to lexicalize and characterize social stratification levels within the group. Equally, it manifests as an internal perception of the Self by the Other, carried in the Self's construction, at least at some level:

“...rednecks. Disgusting people, to be honest. Spoil the whole lack of crime statistics in Finland” (Kseniya 18, Vantaa) or “Integrated-full (actively despise others, but suffers from exactly the same attitude on the part of locals) and the majority. The last resemble stray dogs. Forever whining, always hungry and always ready to steal something (especially if sure of their own impunity)” (Arkady 53, Espoo).

Only two interviewees stated that they belong to or were interested in some political party in relation to the political activities per say. Therefore, they are involved in conventional social activities (Goel & Smith 1980, 77). The large majority of the interviewees belonged to some type of association - mostly as members. Equally, as learned from Katarina, the main political party entrepreneurs in the metropolitan area more often use the joint political agenda of the RLM. Namely, they are employment, perceived discrimination and immigrant day-to-day issues. Furthermore, through her 1 to 1 contact the awareness and education of the minority representation of the RLM raises. Finally, all of the RLM socially constructed delimitation lines carry part of the rationale for the minority political passivity and political activity. Additionally, during the study I referred to the constructivist action endorsed by the Other which further lead towards the reproduction of the intersubjective identity understanding. In this point, my conclusion is that there is a clear and transparent initiative by the Other for intersubjective understanding (Hopf 1998, 173). By referring to the Other, I refer to the metropolitan area local level authorities: the example of Vantaa and project “Skilled” financed by the Finnish government. Furthermore, as elaborated the legal frame for the organization of any form of political or social activity currently exists (Ministry of Justice of Finland 1999 cf. Finnish Patent and Registration Office, s.a.). The framework is practically limitless and represents an incentive for any social and political action (Guzzini 2000, 160-161).

One of the rare common denominators in the collected and analysed material is the perceived discrimination by the Russian language minority, even by those who have not experienced it themselves. Therefore, I was able to identify clear reflection of anti-racist or better anti-xenophobic discrimination ideology. As argued by Van Dijk, the categories of ideology identification are straight forward and this “ideology structure” (Van Dijk 1998, 69-70) based on the collected data appears as following.

1. “Membership: Who we are?” Native Russian speaking population in Finland. “Where are we from?” Ex-Soviet Union space. “What do we look like?” Disorganized, particularly on an NGO representation level.
2. “Who belongs to us?” All Russian-speaking background minority members. “Who can become a member of our group?” Same as previous.
3. “Activities: What do we do? What is expected of us? Why are we here?” Attempting to organize ourselves against perceived discrimination. Here the role and type identities influence options of engagement: from an establishment of a political party and Russian as the new official language to political and social activism on the same goals, within existing political and social structures.
4. “Goals: Why do we do this? What do we want to realize?” Full integration in Finnish society and downsize of perceived discrimination in all fields, in particular, employment and type identity.
5. “Values/norms: What are our main values? How do we evaluate self and other? What should (not) be done?” We should have an effective system and media protection in place. We are the victims of discrimination they are the discriminators.
6. “Position and group relations: What is our social position? Who are our enemies and opponents? Who are like us, and who are different?” Position varies per historical periods and currently is negative. Equally, there is negative influence of the Other in the broader scale (EU) as a stakeholder in self-other dichotomy (Van Dijk 1998, 69-70).

This part of the study shows that the interviewees with the self-other perception rooted in successful integration participate less or are differently guided and implementable than the ones who are not equally well integrated. The degrees of integration can be observed in the related discourses as they resurface to recognizable distinction.

In relation to the four constructed delimitation lines of the RLM from the collected data, there is an important point to be made. In the same manner as they are socially and culturally constructed in the delimitation manner, they can be constructed lose their sharpness or disappear (Brah 1996, 123). As Grew argues, the mutual exchange between majority-minority results in a “reciprocal change” of both, majority and minority (Grew 2000, 13). This appears as a long lasting process that may change the constructed perception on the RLM. Equally, it is a process that may change RLM perception towards the Other or majority. This mutual exchange may play out the altered Finnish society on increased multicultural foundations and less visible constructed minorities. Equally, the similar lines among the subgroups within the minority or in-group separate subgroups one from another. In that perception, the constructed difference has another base or rationale but never the less the division technique is the same.

In other words, the minority is subject of a social construction and intersubjective understanding. The divisive lines may be intensified or erased, depending on the observer and the viewpoint but equally importantly based in the language and rhetoric “as medium for the discourse of integration and [...] difference” on the topic of minority (Paasi 1996, 91). The contributions of this study are following. This is the first study of this type in the metropolitan area of Helsinki and thus in Finland; at least to my knowledge. Although it can be deeper and broader in scope and sampling, it represents a baseline for future similar projects. It offers some understanding of the Russian language minority’s political contemplations and more importantly the perceived problems in relation to the Other. This study offers a new perspective to this subject, from the viewpoint of the third party: a foreigner. The limitations of this study were that there was no greater access to the Russian language minority or willingness by them to participate. Although the web-based interviews contain most of the age categories, they do not cover categories that are not computer literate or at least do not respond to these studies.

In conclusion and based on its findings, I would dare to make a recommendation towards increased understanding of the RLM. I would say that the revised integration process is the answer for comprehensive social and political inclusion of the RLM. This is not news and there are years of such attempts in doing so. However, my recommendation carries a concrete idea of increased deployment of experts in the Russian culture, language and mentality for the implementation of these projects. They are knowledgeable, accepted by the minority and understand the needs and possibilities of these projects. Proven results speak in favour of this. Hence, as one of the outcomes of Cultura foundation project, participants established several associations. Such programmes may and should be initiated. Equally, the image of the RLM should be subject of a research in a new and innovative ways as opposed to crude shape within a frame of Finland-Russia or EU daily developments. Not only should all such activities be well advertised and promoted internally in Finland but to the world. Image counts and often at times and places least foreseeable. As for the majority of the Russian language associations, which exist in the metropolitan area, I believe they would benefit more by promoting their work. Furthermore, the focus may be on an increased capacity building; different skills, to re-establish contact with the minority population. They should exist for them in the first place. As Anastasia emphasized, the “language bubble” may be an obstacle but also it may be an opportunity for the future. The future research possibilities are multi-faced and in my opinion, can be very interesting and useful. For example, increasing the scope of this study territorially and through sampling a new research in this or similar topic can be made: for example the Ph.D. dissertation. The combination of this type of research with other sciences: economy, health and other are obvious.

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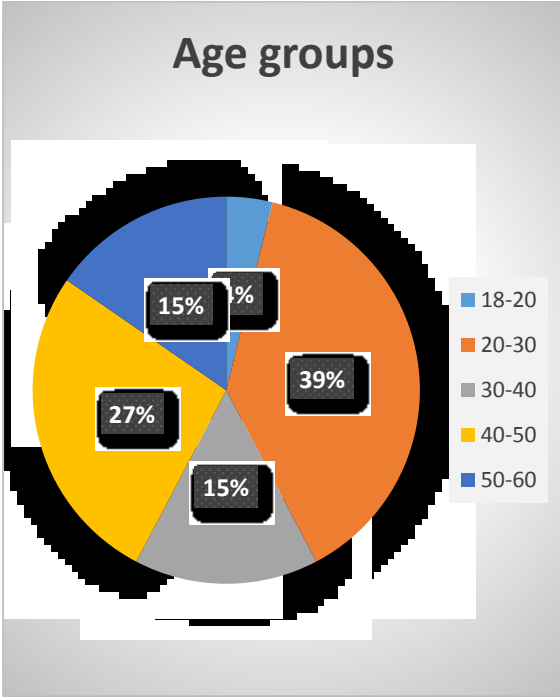
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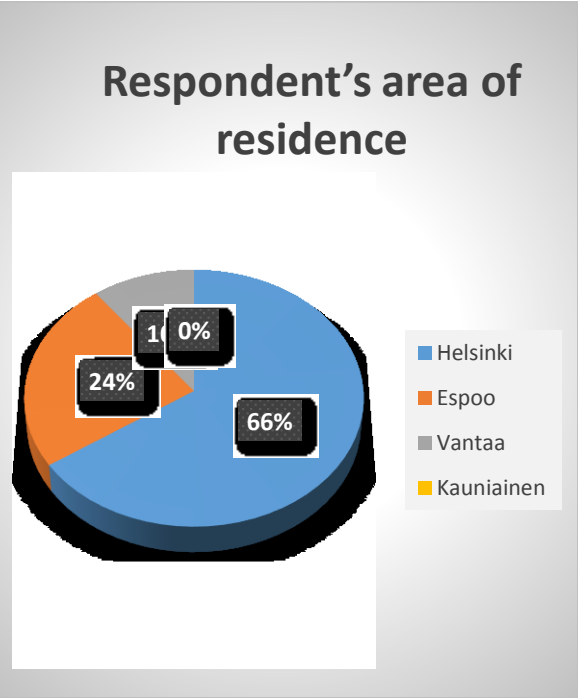
9. APPENDIXES

Appendix 1

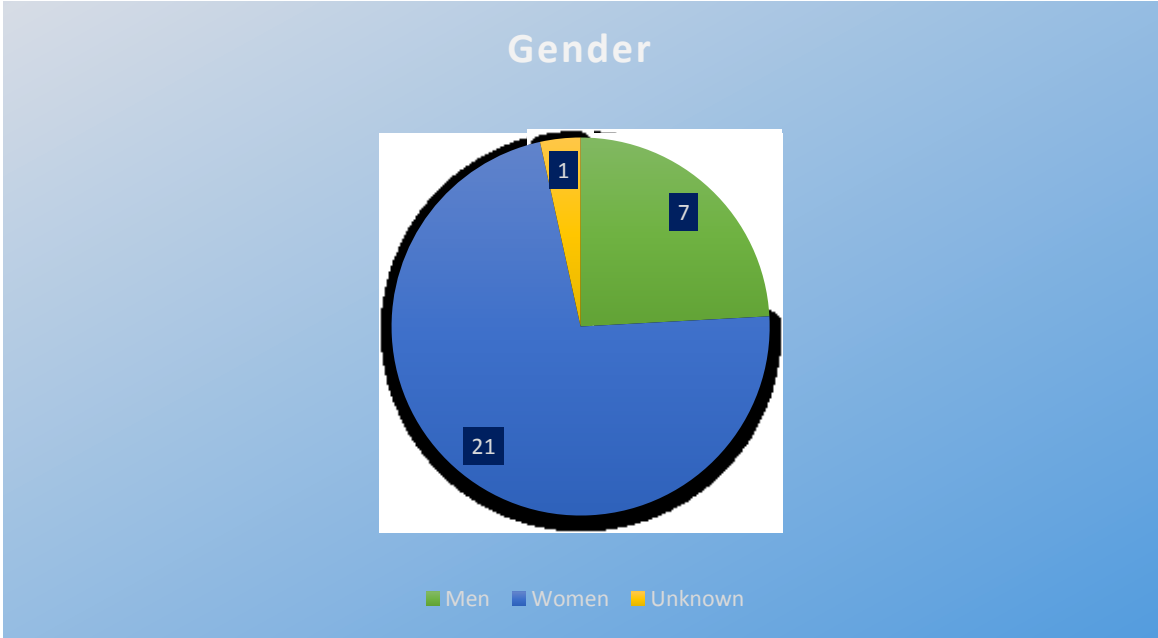
Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3



Appendix 2

Table 1

Question	Are you involved in political or social association?	Is it important to be politically and socially active?	Is there influence of your Russian background on your social and political participation?	A need for an organised political representation of the Russian speaking within the metropolitan area?	A need for an increased participation of the Russian language minority in Finnish politics?
Answer					
Yes	3 Mo 1 A+ Mo	7 Mo, 3 R 1 Mp, 1 A 1 Mo + Mp	3 Mo, 3 Mo+ R 1Mo+MP 6R 1 Mp 1EN/T 2EXP/US 3 R.I. 1 T.I.	2 Mo 1 R, 4 Mo + R 2 R + A 1 T.I. 3 EXP/US 1 EXP/US	13 R 2 R + Mo 1 EN/T 4 T.I.
No	5 Mo	5 Mo 2 R + Mo	4 Mo 2 R, 2 Mp	2 A, 5 Mo, 2 R, 2 R + Mo, 1 R + A	3 Mo, 1 A + Mo

Table 2

Question	Are you involved in political or social association? *	Is it important to be politically and socially active?	Is there influence of your Russian background on your social and political participation ?	A need for an organised political representation of the Russian speaking within the metropolitan area?	A need for an increased participation of the Russian language minority in Finnish politics?
Answer					
Yes	19	18	15	12	16
No	9	7	12	14	11
Other	1 no answer	2 no answer 2 undefined	2 no answer	2 no answer 1 undefined + Mo	2 no answer

* Within 19 positive answers: 12 are members of cultural associations , 4 replied not be members of any organizations, 2 are party members, (one stated to be member of the Finns Party), 1 was not specified
 Within 9 negative answers: 4 had no reason, 3 had lack of an interest, 1 stated lack of specific association, 1 stated that passive membership is better.

Table 3

Use of the Russian language in your life?	Image and situation of the Russian language minority in the metropolitan area?	Media coverage of the Russian language minority?	Anything else you want to say on Russian language minority in metropolitan area or Finland?
3 Mo, R, C + W, 2 W 2 F+ W +C, 3 F Mo + A + C R + F, C + F 2 C 3 F + W +S, Mo F +S +C, Mo + F 1 T.I	14 Mo 10 R +Mo 1 R + 1 MP + Mo + A 6 EN/T 1 T.I. 1 R.I. 2 no answer	20 Mo 7 EN/T 2 SP/T) 1 Mo + Mp 1 Mo + R 1 no answer	11 Mo 1 T.I.) 1 R + Mo, 1 R +Mp 1 Mo + Mp. 1 C.I. 3 EN/T 11 no answer

Tables' code clarification

Bellow presented tables' codes represent the qualitative analysis overview of the web based interviews. They are IDA and Text Analysis categories as well as three identities: type, role and collective. Mark + represent addition to present category, which means that there were several categories in one answer. Numbers do not necessarily match the number of positive or negative answers as some respondents answered in a way which does not leave possibility for analysis.

Legitimation codes: A-Authorization, Mo-Moral Evaluation, R-Rationalization, Mp- Mythopoesis.

Ideological square codes: "EP/US Express/emphasize information that is positive about US.

EN/T Express/emphasize information that is negative about THEM"

SP/T Suppress positive information about THEM" (Van Dijk 1998, 266-267)

Codes for Russian language use: C- Culture, W – Work, F – Family, S- School.

Identity codes: T.I. - Type Identity, R.I. – Role Identity, C.I. - Collective Identity.

Other: + means that codes were identified together in one answer.

Appendix 3

One to one interview with Anneli Ojala, Programme Manager of Cultura foundation “Skilled” project.

Date: 15.01.2014

Time: 10:00 AM – 12:00 AM

Questions marked in blue emerged during the interview.

1. Why the project was started; what Finnish authorities initiated the project?
2. Can you please present your project and its main aim and goals; can you please define active citizenship?
3. Would you say that once you have established the frame of the program, was there something that came afterwards, was there something that you have developed later on?
4. So, if I understand correctly, they are trained both in running the small businesses as well as running the small NGO?
5. What was the impression of the approach of the Russian language speakers to the subject once someone in their native language have spoken it? How would you assess it?
6. Did they go beyond the language critics and accents? Did they have anything related to some other?
7. Did they have any comments once the system was presented, were there any emotions like: were they pleased or they kept the reactions for themselves?
8. Why is it important to have project on active citizenship?
9. Can you please tell me of the Russian speakers’ participants’ statistics?
10. How did you approach the Russian language community- can you tell me more on the contact with Russian associations in metropolitan area? Can you tell me more in other areas in Finland that you have covered?
11. How did you select the participants?
12. Which associations had most interest for cooperation?
13. How would you define old and new organizations?
14. Why do you think they were interested in project?
15. Can you explain did you use some motivational techniques for participation of the Russian language speakers?
16. Are they interested in politics?

17. Was the association participation part of training for attendees?
18. How would you access, or what are your thoughts on the importance of participation of the Russian native staff in your project like with their knowledge of the culture?
19. When Ukrainian crisis started and so on, did you noticed that it influenced the participation, people's attitudes, was there anything that you would say?
20. What were challenges in the project problems in project? For Russian immigrants?
21. Was there and what were the positive developments?
22. Was there a feedback from participants and can you describe them?
23. Can you tell me something on response rates of the attendees compared to plans?
24. What are a lessons learned in your opinion?
25. Recommendations?
26. EU and Helsinki University Russian community clarification work, can you tell me about that what are activities, material?
27. Info in English on situation with other countries?

Appendix 4

Interview questions from the interview with Anastasia, the Cultural Centre Coordinator.

Date: 27.01.2015

Time: 16:00PM – 16:41 AM

Questions marked in blue emerged during the interview.

1. Why the project was started; what Finnish authorities initiated the project?
2. Can you please present your project and its main aim and goals; can you please define active citizenship?
3. Please tell me on the Russian speaker's visitors statistics?
4. Do you make some activities plan projecting the possible number of visitors?
5. Do they sometime increase beyond your even expectations based in the experience?
6. How did you approach the Russian language community- , what are your starting points basically?
7. If I understand correctly, you contact these organizations from Spektr or you use equally your private connections?
8. How did you select the participants: what are the criteria?
9. How do you make yourself known a part from, of course you are present on the website but is there any other technique that you spread your presence, how do you advertise?
10. OK, which one of the social media do you use?
11. Which associations had most interest for cooperation?
12. Why do you think they were interested in project?
13. Can you explain did you used some motivational techniques for participation of the Russian language speakers? Is there anything special?
14. Can we open the kick little bit, what would be the kick?
15. Which area of activities had most of attendees?
16. How would you describe participant's interest in association participation?
17. Is there anything else that expressed through their contact with you in the sense like that they would like to have for example some particular lectures or something?
18. Is there interest for lectures in social sciences, history, law, politics anything like that?

19. What is the language that is used in these events? Is it mainly in Russian or is it in Finnish or what people really want?
20. What were, in your opinion challenges or problems if you like in the work here?
21. How would you comment on the offer of the activities for Russian language speakers on behalf of their organizations whatever they do compared to what you do here?
22. How do you see their, a part from their membership, how do you see their communicability with other part of the society or the Russian organizations: the scope of their activities?
23. What were challenges in the project problems in project? For Russian immigrants?
24. Was there an effort on the behalf of any political party in Finland to come and present their activities here or programmes, to get in touch with you or something else?
25. How would you a say what is the importance for Russian-speaking person of the Russian language for them, how would you describe it?
26. Do you see, I am curious to understand this issue, is it more expressed with the younger or elderly or middle age, do you have this let's call it again flavour in contact with people like?
27. Was there and what were the positive developments?
28. Can you tell me something on response rates of the attendees compared to plans?
29. What are a lessons learned in your opinion? What do you think about lessons learned?
30. Recommendations?
31. EU and Helsinki University Russian community clarification work, can you tell me about that what are activities, material?
32. Info in English on situation with other countries?
33. What else would you say it is significant, is there something is important to mention and we forgot to say?

Appendix 5

Interview questions from the interview with Katarina, a political candidate from Russian language minority for the Finnish parliament

Date: 06.02.2014

Time: 1630h -17:00

Questions marked in blue emerged during the interview.

1. Can you please present your political engagement and its main aim and goals?
2. Can you clarify what do you mean by best results among the Russian speakers, because it is very interesting for me?
3. Which was the year of these elections?
4. What active citizenship means to you?
5. What are your views on Russian language speaker's participation in politics in metropolitan area; Finland?
6. How do you approach the Russian language community- can you tell me more on the contact with Russian associations in metropolitan area?
7. How do you select your contact points in Russian language community; related to politics, social activities?
8. Have you contacted other Russian speaker groups in the area or Finland?
9. Which social groups and associations were most interested for political and social cooperation?
10. What were the reasons, for the ones in Russian language minority, who were interested in political activities to cooperate; what were the reasons for no cooperation?
11. What are your experiences with motivation techniques used for Russian language minority in social and political activities?
12. In your view, is there obstacles for Russian language minority political participation?
13. I am just interested how would you describe the Russian minority interest in metropolitan area? How would you describe their interest in politics in metropolitan area?
14. In your view, what are the largest obstacles for Russian language minority political participation?
15. Do you feel that there is broken link between Russian speaking population and their organizations that represent them? Do you think there is a feeling of misrepresentation?

16. What would be the most clear problem for employment? What would be the reason?
17. How do you see a need for training of the Russian language minority members in social and political participation: association work etc.?
18. In that sense is there a difference in Russian language minority in these migrant issues? Is there like a different view point in the community? What is important for one or the other?
19. Which area of social activities or politics are most desired for Russian language minority?
20. How would you describe Russian language minority interest in politics in metropolitan area?
21. Was there positive developments in your contact with Russian language minority and their associations in metropolitan area?
22. How would you, was there and can you describe the feedback from Russian language minority that you got in your activities? Was there any feedback?
23. Can you tell me something on response rates of Russian language associations in your activities, compared to plans?
24. Do you have knowledge on Russian language minority political activities in other European countries or Nordic region?
25. What are the lessons learned in your opinion?

Appendix 6

Web based interviews greeting message.

Здравствуйте,

Меня зовут Джордже Джогович. Я студент магистратуры международных отношений Университета Тампере. В рамках моего обучения, я провожу исследования о формах общественного и политического участия русскоязычной общины в жизни Финляндии, в частности, в столичном регионе (Хельсинки, Эспоо, Вантаа и Кауниайнен). Данная онлайн анкета является одним из источников моего исследования. Все ответы будут конфиденциальными, Вы сможете ответить на вопросы анонимно и все личные данные будут удалены из ответов. Вы можете ответить на вопросы на русском, финском и английском языках. Если русский язык является для Вас родным языком - или, если Вы считаете себя членом русскоязычного меньшинства - пожалуйста, ответьте на вопросы. Вы можете ответить на столько вопросов на сколько хотите, и настолько подробно насколько Вы можете. Я был бы очень признателен, если бы Вы ответили на вопросы данной анкеты 10.02.2015, а также если бы Вы отправили анкету своим русскоязычным друзьям и знакомым. Отвечая на вопросы анкеты, Вы соглашаетесь с тем, что собранная информация может быть использована в качестве части магистерской диссертации Университета Тампере. По окончании написания диссертации весной 2015 года, она будет размещена в репозитории Университета Тампере вместе с результатами исследования, и будет находиться в свободном доступе (<http://tampub.uta.fi/>).

Если у Вас есть какие-либо вопросы по поводу моего исследования, Вы можете связаться со мной (Dogovic.Dorde.X@student.uta.fi тел. 040 77 11 731) или с моим научным руководителем, лектором университета Анни Кангас (anni.kangas@uta.fi , тел. 050 318 6032).

Благодарю Вас за участие в данном опросе.

Джордже Джогович

Hei,

Olen Djordje Djogovic. Olen kansainvälisten suhteiden maisteriopiskelija Tampereen yliopistossa. Osana opintojani teen tutkimuksen venäjänkielisen vähemmistön sosiaalisesta ja poliittisesta osallistumisesta Suomessa, erityisesti pääseudun alueella (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa ja Kauniainen).

Kerään tutkimusmateriaalia tutkimustani varten tällä internet-kyselyllä. Kaikki vastaukset ovat luottamuksellisia, voitte vastata kysymykseen anonyymisti ja kaikki henkilötiedot poistetaan vastauksista. Voitte vastata kysymyksiin venäjäksi, suomeksi tai englanniksi.

Jos venäjä on äidinkielenne, tai jos koette kuuluvanne venäjänkieliseen vähemmistöön, pyydän Teitä ystävällisesti vastaamaan kysymyksiin. Voitte vastata niin moneen kysymykseen kuin haluatte ja niin yksityiskohtaisesti kuin voitte. Arvostan, jos voisitte vastata kyselyyn 10.2.2015 mennessä. Arvostan myös, jos voisitte lähettää tämän viestin eteenpäin Teidän venäjänkielisille ystäville ja tuttavillenne.

Vastaamalla haastatteluun hyväksytte, että kerättyä tietoa voidaan käyttää osana maisterin graduani Tampereen yliopistossa. Kun gradu on valmis keväällä 2015, on gradu tutkimustuloksineen saatavilla Tampereen yliopiston avoimessa institutionaalisessa varastossa (<http://tampub.uta.fi/>).

Jos teillä on kysyttävää tästä tutkimuksesta, voitte ottaa yhteyttä minuun (Djogovic.Dorde.X@student.uta.fi tel. 040 77 11 731) tai yliopistonlehtori Anni Kankaaseen (anni.kangas@uta.fi, tel. 050 318 6032).

Kiitän ystävällisesti osallistumisesta tähän kyselyyn.

Djordje Djogovic

Hello,

My name is Djordje Djogovic. I am a Master's Student in International Relations in the University of Tampere. As part of my studies, I am doing research on forms of social and political participation of the Russian-speaking community in Finland, in particular in the metropolitan area (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen).

I am collecting research material for my research with this online questionnaire. All replies will be confidential, you will be able to answer to the question anonymously and all personal information will be removed from the responses. You can respond to the questions in Russian, Finnish or English.

If Russian language is your native language - or if you consider yourself a member of the Russian-speaking minority - please, answer the questions. You can answer as many questions as you would like and in as much detail as you can. I would appreciate if you were able to reply to the questionnaire by 10.02.2015 and if you were able to forward this message to your Russian-speaking friends and acquaintances.

By completing the interview you consent that the information gathered can be used as part of my Master's Thesis at the University of Tampere. When completed in the spring 2015, the thesis with research results will be made available in the open institutional repository of the University of Tampere (<http://tampub.uta.fi/>).

If you have any questions about this research, you can get in touch with me (Dogovic.Dorde.X@student.uta.fi tel. 040 77 11 731) or with my supervisor University Lecturer Anni Kangas (anni.kangas@uta.fi, tel. 050 318 6032).

Thank you kindly for participating in this questionnaire.

Djordje Djogovic

Appendix 7

Questions in the web based interview.

Date: 23.01.2015-15.02.2015

Личные данные

Пол

Возраст

Место жительства: Эспоо

Хельсинки

Вантаа

Кауниайнен

1. Охарактеризуйте Ваше участие в социальных или политических ассоциациях. Являетесь ли Вы членом культурных, спортивных или иных ассоциаций? По какой причине? Или Вы являетесь социально или политически активным в других направлениях?
2. Считаете ли Вы, что это важно быть политически и социально активным? Почему?
3. Опишите пожалуйста каким образом Ваше Русское происхождение влияет на Ваше социальное и политическое участие. Имеет ли оно влияние? Если да, то какое именно? Если нет, то почему?
4. Существует ли необходимость для организованного политического представительства русскоязычного меньшинства в столичном регионе Финляндии или на территории всей Финляндии? Почему?
5. Видите ли вы необходимость в увеличении участия русскоязычного меньшинства в политической жизни Финляндии? Объясните, как, с вашей точки зрения, оно может быть улучшено?
6. Каким Вы находите использование Русского языка в Вашей жизни?
7. Как бы Вы охарактеризовали образ и положение русскоязычного меньшинства в столичном регионе Финляндии?
8. Каким Вы находите освещение в СМИ вопросов русскоязычного меньшинства?
9. Есть ли что-нибудь еще, чтобы Вы хотели сказать о русскоязычном меньшинстве в столичном регионе Финляндии?

Henkilötiedot

Sukupuoli

Ikä

Asuinpaikka:

Espoo

Helsinki

Vantaa

Kauniainen

Muu

1. Kuvaile ystävällisesti osallistumistasi sosiaalisissa tai poliittisissa yhdistyksissä. Oletko jonkun kulttuuri-, urheilu- tai muun yhdistyksen jäsen? Miksi? Tai oletko sosiaalisesti tai poliittisesti aktiivinen jollain muulla tavoin?
2. Onko mielestäsi tärkeää olla poliittisesti tai sosiaalisesti aktiivinen? Miksi?
3. Kuvaile venäläisen taustasi vaikutusta sinun sosiaaliseen ja poliittiseen osallistumiseesi. Onko sillä mitään vaikutusta? Jos on, millaista? Jos ei, miksi?
4. Onko olemassa tarvetta venäjänkielisen vähemmistön organisoituun poliittiseen edustamiseen metropoliitta-alueella tai Suomessa kokonaisuudessaan? Miksi?
5. Jos näet olevan enemmän määrin tarvetta venäjänkielisen vähemmistön osallistumiselle suomalaisessa politiikassa, selitä kuinka sitä näkemyksesi mukaan voitaisiin kehittää/parantaa?
6. Kuinka koet venäjän kielen käytön elämässäsi?
7. Millaiseksi kuvailisit mielikuvaa venäjänkielisestä vähemmistöstä ja venäjänkielisen vähemmistön tilannetta metropoliitta-alueella ja Suomessa?
8. Kuinka laajasti sinun näkemyksesi mukaan mediassa käsitellään venäjänkielistä vähemmistöä?
9. Onko jotain muuta, mitä haluaisit sanoa venäjänkielisestä vähemmistöstä metropoliitta-alueella tai Suomessa?

Personal data

Gender

Age

You are living in:

Espoo

Helsinki

Vantaa

Kauniainen

Other

1. Please characterise your involvement in social or political associations. Are you a member of any cultural, sports or any other association? Why? Or, are you socially or politically active in some other way?
2. Do you consider it important to be politically and socially active? Why?
3. Please, describe the influence of your Russian background on your social and political participation. Does it have any influence? If yes, what kind? If not, why?
4. Is there a need for an organised political representation of the Russian speaking minority either within the metropolitan area or in Finland as a whole? Why?
5. If you see a need for an increased participation of the Russian language minority in Finnish politics, explain how it in your view could be improved?
6. How do you see the use of the Russian language in your life?
7. How would you characterise the image and situation of the Russian language minority in the metropolitan area and in Finland?
8. What are your views on the media coverage of the Russian language minority?
9. Is there anything else you want to say on Russian language minority in metropolitan area or Finland?